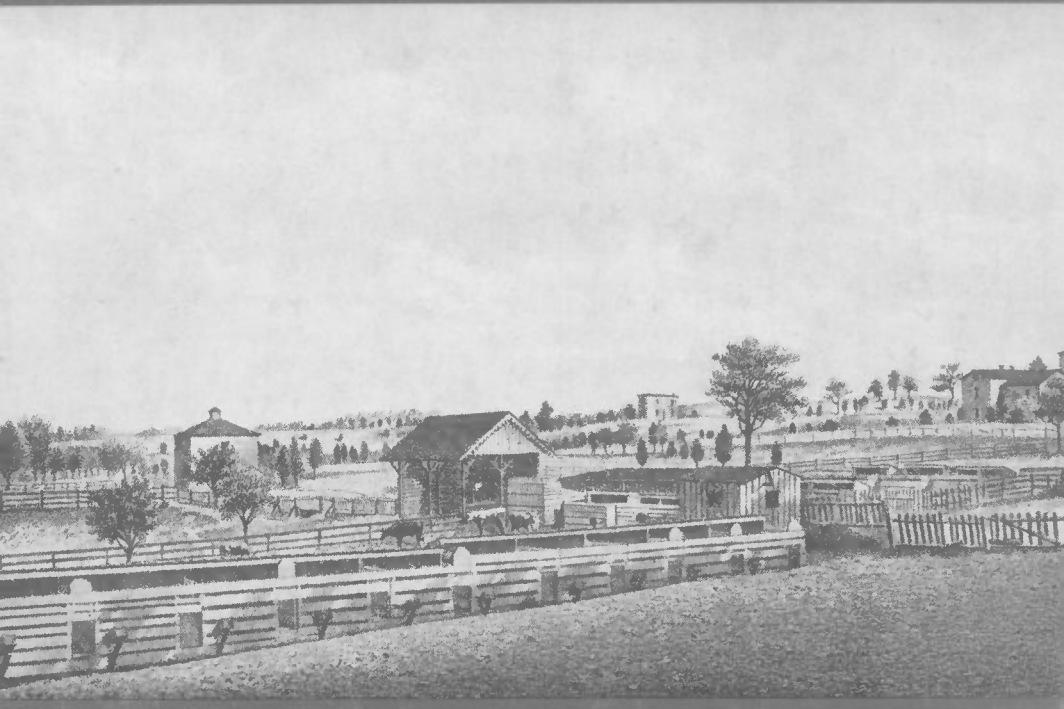
MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



BENNING VETERINARY STATION, Washington, D.C. *ca.* 1883
Courtesy Dept. of Agriculture.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

December · 1966

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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* * *

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BACKGROUND FOR PLENTY: A NATIONAL CENTER FOR AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH

By Vivian Wiser and Wayne D. Rasmussen

The first experiments in colonial America in soil improvements and in raising fruits, vegetables, field crops, and animals were conducted by individuals on a relatively small scale. At about the time of the American Revolution, newly-organized, though often short-lived, State, county, and local agricultural societies encouraged their members to experiment. Political leaders of the new nation combined, in many instances, patriotic duties with agrarian pursuits, and the importance of rural life continued to be a subject of frequent discussion. In his last message to Congress, December 7, 1796, President George Washington recommended that the Federal Government pro-

vide leadership by establishing a national board of agriculture.

Although the proposal for such a board did not materialize at that time, the idea persisted, fostered by agricultural societies and the agricultural press. When the death of James Smithson in England made available his generous bequest for "the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men," a number of suggestions for its use, based upon these ideas, were made. Among these was a proposal for the establishment of a national farmers' organization with a school and an experimental farm as integral units. Although a number of members of Congress cooperated in forming such a society, it failed to profit from the Smithson fund and soon disintegrated.[1]

Meanwhile, early agricultural work in the Federal Government was assigned to the Patent Office, which built some greenhouses adjacent to its building in Washington at 9th and G Streets, Northwest. In 1850, the greenhouses were dismantled when the building was enlarged, and were moved to the Mall nearer the Capitol. Later these were designated as the Botanical Garden.[2] Plant exploration, distribution of seeds and plants, and the interest in cultivation of cane, sorghum, and tea prompted Charles Mason, Commissioner of Patents, to ask in 1856 for a tract of land where work on "cultivating and propagating seeds and cuttings" might be undertaken. John B. Black, Commissioner of Public Buildings, allocated six acres in Washington on the Mall, north of the canal and fronting on Missouri Avenue and between 4½ and 6th Streets, for this purpose. Two years later this was formally designated as the Propagating Garden.[3]

The agricultural section of the Patent Office had problems in preparing the tract for use. It found that it had to underdrain the low-lying land that had been filled with "excavations from the canal, city refuse, and other incongruous materials."

[1] *American Farmer,* II (April 21, 1841), 380; U.S. Patent Office, "Historical Sketch of the United States Agricultural Society," in *Annual Report: Agriculture,* 1859, pp. 22-30.

[2] Wayne D. Rasmussen, "United States Plant Explorers in South America in the Nineteenth Century," Doctoral Dissertation, George Washington University, 1950, pp. 166-70.

[3] John B. Black to Charles Mason, May 25, 1856, Records of the Commissioner of Public Buildings, R.G. 42, National Archives; Gladys L. Baker, Wayne D. Rasmussen, Vivian Wiser, and Jane M. Porter, *Century of Service, The First 100 Years of the United States Department of Agriculture* (Washington, 1963), p. 8.

Propagating houses were constructed. Experiments in heating them with manure were undertaken, but these proved impractical because of the inability to control heat so generated. Sorghum, tea plants, grape cuttings and seedlings, and camphor, cork oak and other trees were planted.[4]

The agricultural work within the Patent Office was under frequent attack. Those who felt that it should be given greater Federal support joined the United States Agricultural Society or the various State organizations. The Maryland State Agricultural Society was an especially active State group. By 1853, Charles B. Calvert and Francis P. Blair had engaged in a campaign that was to continue for some time. Blair advocated the appropriation of Federal funds for a model farm located near the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, "so as to be seen by everybody and within an half an hour of the National Institute in the city." Annually the Maryland organization passed resolutions that it, in turn, asked the United States Agricultural Society to endorse before it sent them to the United States Congress. These urged the Federal legislature to establish a "National Agricultural Institution and Experimental Farm." Repeatedly, proponents from various sections of the country proposed that Mount Vernon be purchased for the farm. Then, when it seemed unlikely that Washington's estate would be purchased by the Federal Government, the suggestion was made that contributions be sent to the Mount Vernon Association.[5] Those who concentrated their efforts on the establishment of an agricultural college at College Park, Maryland, initially aspired to make that institution with its experimental farm, national in scope rather than statewide.

When the Advisory Board of Agriculture met in 1859 to discuss agricultural work in the Federal Government, some delegates recommended that an experimental farm be established in Washington. Thomas Clemson, who was subsequently

[4] United States Agricultural Society, *Journal* (Washington, 1859), p. 384; U.S. Patent Office, *Annual Report: Agriculture*, 1858, pp. 280-83; 1859, pp. 1-2.

[5] Francis P. Blair, *Address to the Agricultural Association of Montgomery County, Maryland*, (Rockville, 1853), pp. 1-7; United States Agricultural Society, *Journal* (Washington), 1853, p. 238, 1854, pp. 11-12, 22-23, 1855, p. 156, 1857, pp. 40-43, 1859, p. 16; *American Farmer*, IX (December, 1853), 169-70, X (August, 1854), 42-43, (November, 1854), 133, XI (December, 1855), 165, XIII (February, 1858), 258; *The Sun* (Baltimore), September 21, 1853; *The Weekly Sun* (Baltimore), January 23, 1858.

placed in charge of the agricultural work, reported on the meeting. He said it did not "appear practicable in the present state of political feeling, throughout the country." And so the situation remained for three more years.[6]

On May 15, 1862, when Abraham Lincoln signed the bill establishing the Department of Agriculture, he also directed the transfer of the Propagating Garden to the new Department. William Saunders was soon appointed as Botanist and Superintendent of the Garden. In his report for 1862 on the "Garden Attached to the Department of Agriculture," Saunders complained that he found no record of the earlier work. As he planned for the future of his experimental garden," he wanted:

1. To procure and encourage the transmission of seeds, cuttings, bulbs, and plants from all sources, both foreign and domestic, for the purpose of testing their merits and adaptation in general, or for particular localities of this country.
2. To procure, by hybridizing and special culture, products of a superior character to any now existing.
3. To ascertain, by experiment, the influences of varied culture on products and the modifications effected by the operations of pruning and other manipulations on trees and fruits.
4. To investigate more thoroughly the various maladies and diseases of plants, and the insects that destroy them.
5. To provide ample means for thoroughly testing samples of all seeds and other contributions that may be received.
6. To cultivate specimens of the various hedge plants, and exhibit their availability for that purpose.
7. To cultivate a collection of the best fruit trees and plants, such as grapes, apples, pears, peaches, strawberries, raspberries, currants, etc., so as to compare their respective merits.
8. To plant a collection of choice shrubs, adapted for decorating gardens and landscape scenery.
9. To erect glass structures for the twofold purpose of af-

[6] *American Farmer*, XIV (March, 1859), 275.

> fording the necessary facilities for cultivating exotic fruits and plants and to furnish examples of the best and most economical modes of constructing, heating, and managing such buildings.[7]

In 1862, a larger tract of land known as Reservation 2, was allocated for use as an experimental farm. Conveniently located between 12th and 14th Streets and the Canal (roughly Constitution Avenue) and B Street, Southwest (Independence Avenue), it was used by the Union Army as a cattle yard, until it became available for the Department's use in 1865. A large force of laborers was put to work to clear it. Soon varieties of potatoes and spring and fall wheat were being tested there, but the space was too limited to prevent cross-pollenization of them. Then in 1867, Congress appropriated funds for a new Departmental building that was built on the south side of the tract.[8]

William Saunders, who supervised the work in the Propagating Garden and the Experimental Garden, realized the inadequacy of the resources for experimental plant production. He suggested to Commissioner Isaac Newton that an experiment farm be established elsewhere. In 1867, Horace Capron, who had twenty years earlier had a large experimental farm near Laurel, Maryland, became Commissioner and asked Saunders for his suggestions for improving Departmental work. After complaining about the conditions on the Experimental Farm, Saunders recommended that " . . . a tract of land contiguous to the city, of at least 200 acres" be secured to replace it. Capron endorsed the idea. He then included in his special report to Congress on January 13, 1868, a recommendation for a model farm, with "choice specimens" of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, and poultry, that would be a show place. On the same day, he forwarded his revised appropriation estimate, seeking $82,420 for an experimental farm. But Congress did not enact the necessary legislation. Then much of the tract that had previously been the Experimental Garden was converted into a

[7] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1862, pp. 541-42; 12 U.S. Stat. 388; Personnel Folder, William B. Saunders, R. G. 16, National Archives.

[8] Charles H. Greathouse, *Historical Sketch of the U.S. Department of Agriculture; Its Objects and Present Organization* (Washington, 1907), pp. 41-44.

virtual arboretum, enhancing the appearance of the mansard-roofed red brick building.[9]

When William Gates LeDuc, who served as Commissioner of Agriculture from 1875 to 1879, submitted his final report to the President, November 15, 1878, he cited as one of the "immediate necessities" of the Department of Agriculture "an experimental farm of one thousand acres of ground," in the vicinity of Washington.[10]

The general climate for expanding agricultural research became increasingly more favorable. The movement for establishing experiment stations in the various States with Federal funds had the support of many Congressmen, the National Grange, and the land grant colleges, as well as the United States Department of Agriculture. On March 2, 1887, the Hatch Experiment Station Act was approved, providing Federal grants to States for agricultural research. Meanwhile, according to Edwin Willits, who served as the first Assistant Secretary of Agriculture from 1889 to 1893, the Commissioners of the Department of Agriculture, "without exception . . . wanted an experiment farm" for their own research. He, however, in 1889, hoped to "head off any such proposition as this." But bills introduced in Congress in 1888 for a grass and forage station west of the 100th meridian also would have directed the Federal Department to conduct some such investigations in or near Washington without providing authorization for additional land for such work.[11]

On February 9, 1889, the long battle to raise the Department to cabinet status was ended with Grover Cleveland's signing of the enabling legislation. Norman J. Colman, the incumbent Commissioner, was appointed as Secretary for the month until the administration changed with the inauguration of Benjamin Harrison, who appointed Jeremiah Rusk to replace Colman. Rusk was anxious to expand research activities and began a search for available space.

[9] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1867, pp. 19-20; Horace Capron to Schuyler Colfax, January 13, 1868; William Saunders to Horace Capron, December 15, 1867, Capron Papers, Library of Congress.

[10] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1879, p. 39.

[11] Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, *Proceedings* (Washington), 1889, pp. 88-89; *Congressional Record*, February 21 and 28, 1888.

The Arlington Experimental Farm

Across the Potomac River from the Department of Agriculture lay the large Arlington Military Reservation. While Fort Myer and the Arlington National Cemetery sprawled over much of the tract and the so-called "Freedmen's Village" was on the south side of the reservation, other acres were allowed to grow up to underbrush, unused except by surplus livestock from the military installations. Heavy rains made deep gullies as the run-off drained into the Potomac River. Members of Congress and civic-minded residents of the Washington area made suggestions for better utilization of this land, which they considered an eyesore to those approaching the city from the South. Among these were proposals for a national park or for an agricultural experiment station, so badly needed by the expanding Department of Agriculture.

Secretary Rusk began to inquire as to the availability of some of the Arlington tract. The Quartermaster General, who had jurisdiction over the reservation, advised the Secretary of War that if he wished,

> all that part of the reservation [requested] may be given to the Agricultural Department until needed for military or cemeterial purposes. The squatters now on that tract will have to be gradually removed, which may be done at anytime by paying for their improvements.

Assured of the cooperation of the War Department, Rusk recommended, in his annual report to the President, October 26, 1889, that about three hundred acres be transferred to his Department. He would thereby solve two problems. He would have space for William Saunders, who had long agitated for an experimental farm, and others to conduct work on testing and propagating plants. Then he could transfer and expand the research in animal diseases, that had been carried on since 1883 on leased land at Benning, D.C.[12]

On July 14, 1890, the President approved the appropriation of $20,000 to move the animal disease work to Arlington. Sec-

[12] Quartermaster General to Secretary of War, October 17, 1889, Secretary's Correspondence, War Department; Jeremiah Rusk to James E. Clements, August 25, 1890, Domestic Letters, 119:150-51, R.G. 16, National Archives; U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report,* 1889, pp. 28-29, 40-41.

retary Rusk felt that the move would begin about October 1, but it did not take place. Three years later, his successor, J. Sterling Morton, found that the appropriation was still available. He asked to meet with the Secretary of War, Daniel S. Lamont, to discuss transferring part of the Arlington reservation, but nothing was done.[13]

When a new administration was inaugurated in 1897, an expansion of scientific research seemed probable. The establishment of an outdoor laboratory at Arlington was again proposed. James Wilson, the new Secretary, found that legal authorities in the Justice and Treasury Departments had determined that the funds appropriated in 1890 were no longer available.[14]

At the request of Secretary Wilson, John Rixey, Congressman from Virginia, introduced a bill, December 6, 1897, authorizing the transfer of 500 acres of land from the Arlington estate for experimental work of the Department of Agriculture. Subsequently, this was reduced to about 300 acres. The War Department hesitated to release the land, which it planned eventually to use for the expansion of Arlington National Cemetery. But the Committee on Military Affairs recommended favorable action. It pointed out that:

> At present the premises in question have the appearance of an abandoned estate, with neither buildings nor improvements thereon. The surface is much gullied and cut up from rains and the flow of water in the small creek and rivulets which cross the same and empty into the Potomac River.
>
> The lands are so located as to be in full view of the city of Washington, and present an unsightly appearance.[15]

No further action was taken in that session of Congress. However, on the last day of that Congress, March 3, 1899, the Secretary of War was authorized to permit the Secretary of Agriculture

[13] J. Sterling Morton to Attorney General, May 9, 1893, Domestic Letters, 142:203; Attorney General to Secretary of Agriculture, May 28, 1893, Secretary's Letters, 9:56; J. Sterling Morton to Secretary of War, Secretary's Letters, 9:55, R.G. 16, National Archives; 26 U.S. Stat. 288.

[14] Comptroller General to Secretary of Agriculture, May 25, 1897; Secretary of Agriculture to Attorney General, May 27, 1897; Attorney General to Secretary of Agriculture, June 4, 1897, General Correspondence, Department of Justice, R.G. 60, National Archives.

[15] *Congressional Record,* December 6, 1897; U.S. Congress, Committee on Military Affairs, *Report on H.R. 4102,* House Report 728, 55th Congress, 2d Sess., March 16, 1898, 2 pp.

to use 75 acres of reclaimed land in Potomac Park, across the river from Arlington, as testing grounds.[16]

Soon after the beginning of the next session, Congressman Rixey introduced another bill for the establishment of an Arlington Experimental Farm, almost identical to his former proposal. Early the next year, Elihu Root, Secretary of War, wrote the Congressman that the sooner the land was occupied and improved, the better. The act directing the transfer of approximately 400 acres from the War Department to the Department of Agriculture was passed by Congress and approved by the President on April 18, 1900. The tract was located east of the Arlington National Cemetery. On April 20, Secretary Wilson, or "Tama Jim" as he was frequently called, inspected the lands with William Saunders, who was still Superintendent of Gardens and Grounds and was to direct the work. Aware of the problems of making the tract usable, the Secretary asked Congress to appropriate $20,000 for this task.[17]

The work of preparing the land was slow at first. There were many springs on the plot, large drainage ditches, and several large streams flowing from the Arlington Cemetery. Some open ditches were tiled and filled and large quantities of tile laid to drain the low land. Trees, briars, and underbrush were cut and grubbed out and sod plowed under. Then cowpeas, crimson clover, rye, and buckwheat were planted. Large quantities of manure were obtained from nearby Fort Myer to enrich the soil. In one year, 2,195 wagonloads were spread. Lime and mineral fertilizers were also applied. Areas not adapted to experimentation were seeded down to provide pasture and forage for the animals used on the farm. Lawn areas were enlarged each year and landscaped to show rural people what could be done. Buildings, roads, and the necessary utilities were constructed.[18]

It took roughly three years for laborers to get the land ready for the scientists to use. Then much applied research could be

[16] 30 U.S. Stat. 1378.

[17] H.R. 1092, 56th Congress, December 5, 1899; Elihu Root to John F. Rixey, January 23, 1900, Correspondence of the Office of the Adjutant General, War Department, R.G. 94, National Archives; Blueprints, Arlington Reservation Files, Records of the Judge Advocate General, War Department; *Congressional Record*, April 25, 1900; 31 U.S. Stat. 135.

[18] U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report*, 1902, pp. 28-29; U.S. Bureau of Plant Industry, *Annual Report*, 1901, pp. 84-85, 1902, pp. 93-95, 1908, p. 85, 1912, p. 75.

carried out conveniently across the Potomac River from the Departmental offices and laboratories. While general administrative responsibility was assigned to the Bureau of Plant Industry, other Bureaus conducted research in the fields, laboratories, and greenhouses at the farm. Results of the projects were published as bulletins on the problem investigated rather than as work of the station.[19]

The research was quite wide in scope. Scientists of the Bureau of Plant Industry were studying tomato wilt and cereal and plant diseases; the influence of the length of day on plant growth and maturity; corn breeding; cold storage; fruit production and utilization; and hemp, forage crops, drug plants, and various kinds of flowers and ornamental plants.

While many of the investigations of the other Bureaus were conducted in special laboratory buildings or greenhouses, some were undertaken in the fields of the farm. The Bureau of Chemistry and Soils was working on increasing soil fertility and the recovery of phosphoric acid from low-grade phosphate rock, on soil micro-biology, on dust explosion prevention, and with dye stuffs; the Forest Service was experimenting with willow and catalpa trees; the Bureau of Entomology was especially interested in truck crop insects; and the Bureau of Public Roads tested road materials in its laboratories and sought the solution for various road-building problems for a number of years. Earlier, during World War I, the Bureau of Soils had worked on nitrogen fixation and the production of phosphoric acid for fertilizer.

Although the farm was essentially a research project, visitors were welcomed. A small guide book described many of the investigations underway. However, plantings of the Federal Horticultural Board relating to the testing of imported materials under the Plant Quarantine Act were intermingled with similar domestic plants to prevent identification. Employees were instructed not to let visitors pick anything in these areas.

In 1911, scarcely more than a decade after the Department of Agriculture had received jurisdiction over the Arlington tract, the Commanding Officer at Fort Myer asked that the agreement be terminated. However, the Acting Chief of Staff of the

[19] Edwina V. A. Avery, *The Arlington Experiment Farm* (Washington, D. C., November 1928), pp. 1-40; James Wilson to E. H. Livingston, June 17, 1903, Secretary's Letters, 75:108, R.G. 16, National Archives.

Army recommended that other land be used to expand the Fort. He felt that Agriculture had made too much of an investment during the previous eight years to make the retransfer feasible.[20]

As the War Department dredged the river channel and filled in the low marshy land adjacent to the farm, the Department of Agriculture scientists sought to expand their experimental projects on this new land. In 1915, 50 acres were added. However, experiments on reclaimed ground were sometimes damaged by spring floods.[21]

By the mid-1920's, the future of the Arlington Experiment Station became more of a subject for discussion. References in the newspapers prompted several inquiries from members of Congress who were told at first that the Department had no plans for transferring the work elsewhere. Before long, however, Secretary William Jardine, at the suggestion of Charles Moore, Chairman of the Fine Arts Commission, asked W. A. Taylor to study the problem for "the time would not be far distant when the ground at Arlington would have to be utilized, as available space in Arlington Cemetery is very limited." The Commission recommended the expansion of the Cemetery in its report for 1926 to 1929. The National Park Service was anxious to acquire sections for the riverfront park improvement. The scientists appreciated the convenience of Arlington. Unable to find other space directly across the river in Virginia, they considered land along the Anacostia River where the old Benning Race Track had been located or adjacent to the National Arboretum that was authorized by Congress on March 4, 1927. But these sites would accommodate only part of the experiments. Some consideration was given to moving at least part of the experiments with field crops to Beltsville, Maryland, where animal research was underway.[22]

However, further action at that time was not in line with

[20] Arthur C. Murray to Secretary of War, July 18, 1911, Correspondence of the Office of the Adjutant General, R.G. 94, National Archives.

[21] Secretary of Agriculture to Secretary of War, March 22, 1924, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives; *Departmental Circular* (Washington), June 10, 1915, p. 7; *Evening Star* (Washington), May 15, 1924; *Washington Post,* May 12, 1929; *Sunday Star* (Washington), May 12, 1929.

[22] R. W. Dunlap to O. E. Weller, January 25, 1926; W. A. Taylor to George Norris, February 16, 1926; W. A. Taylor to Secretary, September 10, 1926; W. M. Jardine to W. A. Taylor, September 28, 1926; A. F. Woods to the Secretary, October 14, 1926; W. A. Taylor to the Secretary, January 18, 1932, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives; U.S. Fine Arts Commission, *Eleventh Report,* January 1926 to June 30, 1929, p. 130.

the administration's policy of economy in Government expenditures. The idea persisted; but the relocation of the Arlington Experiment Farm was not to occur until another decade had passed and a massive defense buildup was underway. Meanwhile, the demands for alternate use of the land continued. The Washington Airport wanted to extend its runways; the Boy Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, and other groups wanted areas for camping and recreation activities; and the National Park Service continued to look enviously at the low lands along the Potomac River. Naturally, Departmental scientists in Washington objected to such diversion of land use that would make difficult, if not impossible, the continuation of research from their Washington offices.[23]

The transition was underway, nevertheless. In 1928, the Bureau of Plant Industry undertook, with the cooperation of the Bureau of Animal Industry, some experiments in pasture development at Beltsville. Experience here convinced the Plant Industry scientists that the soil at the Beltsville farm had limited potential. Some consideration was given to an area east of the Plant Introduction Station at Glenn Dale. In 1932, the Bureau leased land on the west side of the Washington-Baltimore Boulevard, on which it hoped to consolidate its horticultural experiments from Arlington and other areas and eventually to relocate there all of the Bureau's work conducted at Arlington. Scientists were also carrying on some experiments on the east side of the Boulevard at Beltsville in cooperation with the University of Maryland.[24]

A new interest in scientific research came in the 1930's with Secretary Henry A. Wallace, even though the Department was redirecting many of its efforts to action programs. The leased land on which the Horticultural Field Station at Beltsville was

[23] Washington Airport, Inc. to Secretary of Agriculture, February 3, 1931, R.G. 54; C. F. Marvin to A. G. Ober, February 18, 1931; Director of Scientific Work to Secretary, May 6, 1930; H. A. Wallace to M. Maverick, March 11, 1935; H. A. Wallace to H. H. Newman, March 23, 1936; H. A. Wallace to E. S. Martin, September 15, 1938; R. G. Tugwell to National Airport, October 14, 1936; E. N. Bressman to Harvey A. Gordon, May 21, 1937; F. D. Richey to M. L. Wilson, August 16, 1937, Secretary's Files, R.G 16, National Archives.

[24] R. W. Dunlap to W. A. Taylor, March 3, 1930; W. A. Taylor to R. M. Reese, November 13, 1931; W. A. Taylor to the Secretary, January 18, 1932, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives; Telephone interview with Donald Crooks, Agricultural Research Service, August 18, 1966.

Beltsville Agricultural Research Station. Contemporary view.
Courtesy Dept. of Agriculture.

Walnut Grange. *Ca.* 1805, Beltsville. The South wing was burned and not rebuilt. Today, the residence of Superintendent of Beltsville.
Courtesy Charles A. Logan.

located was purchased in 1933 with Public Works Administration funds. The Bureau of Plant Industry did not consider this a large enough site on which to relocate other Arlington projects. But by late 1933, estimates had been made of the cost of replacing buildings at Arlington and the greenhouses along the improved Constitution Avenue that were being used by the Bureau's Division of Forage Crops. Then the Department announced that it would ultimately move many of the activities from Arlington to Beltsville. The Department unsuccessfully sought emergency funds for land acquisition and building construction, action it was to attempt again in 1938 with the same negative results.[25]

Meanwhile, the land acquisition program with emergency funds was underway, making possible expansion of agricultural research in the Beltsville area. The idea of centralizing such work seemed more likely to become a reality. Building construction and land improvements were essentially for research at the expanded Beltsville Farm across the Baltimore and Ohio tracks from the Horticultural Field Station. Only for a short period, from October 6, 1934 to February 28, 1935, was there a close tie between the plant research station at Arlington and the Beltsville Farm. E. C. Butterfield served as director of both and was assigned an official car to enable him to do this.[26]

As the Department of Agriculture began moving activities and rumors of planned shifts spread, the War Department sought to regain control of part or all of the Arlington tract so that it might expand the National Cemetery. The Secretary of Agriculture was unwilling to release the land. As the pressure from the War Department and the Interior Department increased, and the uncertainty of tenure interfered with long-range research plans, attempts were made to get the necessary funds for moving. In June 1938, the Bureau of Plant Industry asked

[25] A. J. Pieters to E. C. Butterfield, November 17, 1933, General Correspondence, Bureau of Plant Industry, R.G. 54; F. D. Richey to the Secretary, October 18, 1934; Henry A. Wallace to Secretary of War, November 24, 1934; Henry A. Wallace to D. W. Bell, August 12, 1938; Harold Ickes to Secretary of Agriculture, September 29, 1938, Secretary's Files; Press Release 486-35, August 30, 1934, R.G. 16, National Archives.

[26] F. D. Richey to E. C. Butterfield, October 17, 1934, Bureau of Plant Industry General Correspondence, R.G. 54; Memorandum for Chiefs of Bureaus and Offices, February 28, 1935; H. A. Nelson to Paul Appleby, May 24, 1935, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives.

for an appropriation, only to have that part deleted by the Bureau of the Budget. By early 1939, the War Department was anxious to get the tract for its expanding defense activities. It willingly cooperated in drafting a bill for the relocation of agricultural experimentation to enable it to regain the Arlington tract transferred in 1900. Reluctantly the Department of Agriculture began releasing land; by the spring of 1940, it had let the War Department have seven tracts on which it built facilities for additional troops.[27]

Insisting that it could not release any more land without hampering research vital to the national emergency as well as to the agricultural sector of the economy, the Department of Agriculture again included an item for the relocation of its Arlington work in its 1941 estimates. Unsuccessful in this, the bill that had been prepared in cooperation with the War Department was introduced in Congress in the spring of 1940; preliminary hearings were held; and the Senate Committee on Military Affairs and the House Committee on Agriculture recommended favorable consideration. E. C. Auchter, Chief of the Bureau of Plant Industry, had testified that the area used at Arlington was valued at $4,000,000, while the tract at Beltsville might be purchased for about $200,000. The Park and Planning Commission still wanted the lowlands, and a Federal highway was to cut diagonally across the experimental farm.[28]

Action on the legislative authorization was slow. On September 24, 1940, President Roosevelt transmitted to Congress a request for a supplementary appropriation of $3,200,000 for the relocation of the farm. Hearings began the next day. Secretary Wickard, realizing the validity of the War Department's need for the land, testified that he would release the land if funds were made available to re-establish the agricultural ex-

[27] Roy Ward to C. R. Wickard, June 26, 1944; F. S. Moise to Paul Appleby, March 18, 1941; H. A. Wallace to the Secretary of War, April 10, 1939; H. W. Woodring to Secretary of Agriculture, April 17, 1939, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives; U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings . . . Agricultural Appropriation Bill, 1941,* pp. 150-54.

[28] F. S. Moise to Paul Appleby, March 18, 1941; Ray Ward to C. R. Wickard, January 26, 1941; H. A. Wallace to Harold D. Smith, April 19, 1940, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives; U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Military Affairs, *Transfer of Jurisdiction over Arlington Farm, Virginia,* June 31, 1940, 2 pp., 76th Congress, House Report 2811.

perimental work elsewhere. His statement stressed the fact that this was in reality a national center for plant research with a coordinated program involving the Washington laboratories, the State experiment stations, and other cooperating agencies. He also stated that the move to Beltsville would effect economy and efficiency and would release valuable office space in Washington.[29]

The supplemental appropriation was approved by the President on October 9, 1940. The Act transferring jurisdiction over the Arlington land from the Department of Agriculture to the War Department was signed on November 29, 1940. This legislation provided that the release be made progressively as the agricultural work was relocated on land yet to be purchased, but under option. It also directed the Secretary of War to transfer to the Interior Department land adjacent to Memorial Bridge and the lowlands along the Potomac River.[30]

The project was well underway. The increasingly critical international situation forced the acceleration of the complex move. On March 25, 1941, the Secretary of War requested the release of the greenhouse site by October 1 of that year, a deadline that the Secretary of Agriculture complained he could not meet unless his agency was given priority ratings to enable contractors to obtain scarce materials. Repeatedly the Department asked for higher priorities or preferences as existing ones lost their standing in the process of devaluation. With these the project moved rapidly ahead, and on January 30, 1942, Secretary Wickard notified the Secretary of War that all activities had been moved and that "jurisdiction and control of the site formerly known as Arlington Farm is now with the Secretary of War." Thus, in a little over a year the Department had completed a project that it initially had believed would take two to three years; and with the exception of a relatively small number of administrative and personnel people, the activities of the Bureau of Plant Industry were consolidated at Beltsville. The

[29] F. S. Moise to Paul Appleby, March 18, 1941; Ray Ward to C. R. Wickard, January 26, 1944, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives; U.S. Congress, Senate Committee on Appropriations, *Removal and Re-establishment of Arlington Farm, Virginia,* 76th Congress, Senate Document 287; *Hearings . . . Supplemental Civil Functions Appropriation, 1941,* pp. 116-23.

[30] 54 U.S. Stat. 1046, 1219-20.

cost of the relocation had been kept well within the $3,200,000 appropriated in 1940.[31]

Animal Disease Research Stations

Early work with contagious diseases was undertaken by separate scientists working apart with no central supervision. In 1883, the first step was taken to consolidate these when the Veterinary Division and the Veterinary Experiment Station were established. A seven acre tract was leased about a quarter of a mile northeast of what was then considered the boundary of the city of Washington, now 18th Street and Benning Road, Northeast. It was quickly subdivided by fencing into three pasture fields. Stables and other facilities were built for the accommodation of animals and fowls. By the time the Bureau of Animal Industry was established the following year, William H. Rose, the Superintendent, was ready for such projects as the Bureau might undertake to study the nature and prevalence of animal diseases and the development of control and eradication measures. Between 1888 and 1892 probably the most engrossing activity at this station was the work of Theobald Smith on Texas fever. His discoveries "furnished the first experimental proof that some infectious diseases are carried from victim to victim only through the activities of an intermediate host of their causative microparasites." [32]

During 1889 and 1890 there were rumors that the work would be transferred to the Arlington estate. On July 14, 1890, the President approved an appropriation for such a move. Secretary Rusk expected to shift the activity on October 1, but no further arrangements were made to move the work there. Again in 1893, Secretary J. Sterling Morton investigated the possibility

[31] C. R. Wickard to Secretary of War, April 7, 1941; S. A. Snyder to Donald Nelson, September 4, 1941; Ray Ward to C. R. Wickard, January 26, 1944; Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives; C. R. Wickard to Secretary of War, January 30, 1940, Secretary's Files, War Department; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Appropriations, *Hearings . . . Agriculture Department Appropriation Bill, 1941,* pp. 150-54, *1942,* pp. 375, 392-93.

[32] U. G. Houck, *The Bureau of Animal Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture: Its Establishment, Achievements, and Current Activities* (Washington, 1904), pp. 33, 48-50, 57, 321; U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report,* 1889, pp. 40-41; U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Contagious Diseases of Domesticated Animals* (Washington, 1884), pp. 5-6, 8; E. A. Carman to Smith Townsend, March 14, 1883, Domestic Letters, 78:125, R.G. 16, National Archives.

of using the Arlington tract for plant and animal research. By 1894, D. F. Salmon, Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, was anxious to expand the work into the broader field of animal husbandry and wanted space to permit such an additional workload.[33]

On July 1, 1897, the Bureau of Animal Industry's experiment station was moved from the small leased tract at Benning to Bethesda, Maryland. Initially, eighteen acres were leased. Two years later these and two additional acres were purchased. Work expanded rapidly. In 1902, 30 additional acres were bought; sheep breeding and animal husbandry work were instituted two years later; then in 1906 research in animal genetics was undertaken in earnest.

Crowded conditions had developed, in part, because of the addition of animal husbandry to the original work with animal diseases. Sixty more acres were leased in 1907. Two years later Congress authorized the Department to purchase this or other desirable land. Unable to secure suitable land available at a reasonable price in the Bethesda area, the Department purchased a 475 acre farm near Beltsville in 1910, where it relocated its dairy and animal husbandry activities.[34]

Animal disease research was continued at Bethesda until 1936, when it was transferred to Beltsville. However, many of the residents living near the station favored its transfer as early as 1923 when the Department purchased thirty additional acres of land. By 1930, they had interested Maryland Congressmen in seeking the station for development for park use. Meanwhile, land values in the area rose, rapidly accentuating the wisdom of shifting land use. Three years later, the Bureau of Animal Industry was seeking to purchase additional acreage in the Beltsville area to permit it to move the disease work there. Finally, in 1936, Senator Millard Tydings secured the passage of legislation authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to transfer immediately to the Maryland National Capital Park and Planning Commission eighteen acres and additional acreage when the

[33] 26 U.S. Stat. 288; Charles W. Dabney to Secretary, December 27, 1894, Assistant Secretary's Letters, 24:394-97; J. Sterling Morton to Attorney General, May 9, 1893, Domestic Letters, 142:203; Attorney General to Secretary of Agriculture, May 18, 1893, Secretary's Letters, 9:56, R.G. 16, National Archives.

[34] U. G. Houck, *The Bureau of Animal Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture,* pp. 48-50, 219.

disease work was relocated. The Commission was to develop it for park or recreational use, but it was to revert to the Department of Agriculture if diverted to other purposes. It is now in the Bethesda-Chevy Chase Recreation area.[35]

The Beltsville Farm

When Secretary James Wilson authorized the purchase in 1910 of a 475-acre farm at Beltsville, Maryland, for animal husbandry and dairying research, he little realized the changes that would take place there in the next half-century. The tract selected was located about eleven miles from Washington and was part of a colonial grant, Birmingham Manor, to the Snowden family. A week after the farm was purchased, the first horses and mules were moved from the Bethesda Station. It then concentrated its efforts on research in animal diseases. Before a year had passed, the shift was completed, buildings constructed, land fenced, and the farm equipped. The experiments in breeding and feeding animals and poultry were continued at the new location in Prince George's County. Basically, the farm was divided in two parts, one for dairying research and one for animal husbandry, and was commonly called the Experiment Farm of the Dairy and Animal Husbandry Divisions. One hundred ninety acres were designated for the work of the Dairy Division with dairy cattle breeding and care, forage crops, silage, and the effect of feed on the flavor and odor of milk. The remainder was under the jurisdiction of the Animal Husbandry Division, established in 1910.[36]

Unhampered by the limitation of available acreage, work could be expanded as appropriations permitted. Research that had been started in 1911 with Barbados and Karakul sheep was interrupted when most of the animals were destroyed in a barn that burned in 1915. The next year, the Animal Husbandry Division set aside 100 acres for work on intensive farm production of sheep and a large concrete barn was built.

A real problem arose for some of the workers at the farm

[35] Arthur W. Hyde to Phillips L. Goldsborough, June 23, 1930; J. R. Mohler to Rex Tugwell, August 2, 1933; H. A. Wallace to Daniel C. Roper, September 28, 1938, Secretary's Files; J. R. Mohler to the Solicitor, Solicitor's Vendor Files, R. G. 16, National Archives; 49 U.S.. Stat. 1921.

[36] U.S. Bureau of Animal Industry, *Annual Report,* 1910, p. 208, 1911, p. 208; U. G. Houck, *The Bureau of Animal Industry of the United States Department of Agriculture,* pp. 212, 219-20, 253.

because of the then remote location. A. D. Melvin, Chief of the Bureau of Animal Industry, felt that his agency should furnish living quarters for some of the employees in the station to supplement those available in the small town nearby. Over a period of years, a number of houses were built to meet this need. Then in 1933 a community project was proposed that would have provided small farms for workers at Federal and State experiment stations in the area. Restrictions on the use of emergency funds, however, prevented this, but some employees moved into the Greenbelt housing when it was completed.[37]

Meanwhile, expansion of work demanded increased resources. By 1925, the land area had been increased to 1,062 acres and about 1,000 additional acres were being leased. The theory of economy in Government expenditures continued, but in 1929 some additional land was acquired.[38]

The greatest growth in the farm came in 1933 and the years immediately succeeding, when additional land was purchased with regular or emergency funds or was transferred by the emergency agencies. Projects to improve the area were undertaken by the Public Works Administration and the Civilian Conservation Corps. Enrollees from four CCC camps on the Center grounds built bridges, roads, parking areas, and sidewalks; laid sewer, water, and drainage lines; cleared and fenced land; and provided a variety of other services. Later, in 1940, funds were allocated for the establishment of a National Youth Administration Youth Resident Project to give young men practical experience in the mechanical shops and laboratories of the farm, but the men living there were trained in separate shops apart from the regular facilities. This center was closed November 30, 1942.[39]

Added to the various problems of land acquisition and prep-

[37] U.S. Congress, House Committee on Agriculture, *Hearings . . . Agriculture Department Appropriation Bill, 1918*, p. 128; The Beltsville Community Project, November 8, 1933; C. E. Pynchon to G. E. Falke, [December, 1933], Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives.

[38] E. W. Sheets to J. R. Mohler, May 12, 1925, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives.

[39] H. A. Nelson to the Secretary, August 20, 1936; Earl C. Sanford to the Secretary, October 15, 1937; National Youth Administration Release, U.S. Department of Agriculture to Sponsor NYA Resident Project at Beltsville Research Center, October 29, 1940, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives; Telephone interview with C. A. Logan, August 25, 1966; C. A. Logan, "Brief History of Agricultural Research Center," September 1962, 1-7 pp.

aration was the determination of the real mission of the Center. An outbreak of tuberculosis among the animals in the winter of 1935-1936, precipitated a lively discussion that was to continue for years. Should the farm be a demonstration project open to visitors or should it be an experiment farm with restricted entrance? Under Secretary Tugwell believed that it should serve both functions. Over the years his advice has been followed, with arrangements made for accommodating visitors, including many from other countries.[40]

National Agricultural Research Center

When the New Deal era opened in 1933, some activities of the Bureau of Animal Industry and the Bureau of Dairy Industry were located at the Beltsville farm and the Bureau of Plant Industry was conducting its horticultural research on leased land on the opposite side of the Washington-Baltimore Boulevard. Early in July 1933, Rexford G. Tugwell, Assistant Secretary, W. A. Jump, Budget Officer, and E. W. Sheets, Chief of the Division of Animal Husbandry of the Bureau of Animal Industry, discussed the advisability of moving other research activities to Beltsville. By the end of August 1934, Secretary Henry A. Wallace announced that ten Bureaus were either conducting or planning to locate some of their work in the Beltsville area. There were some, of course, who criticized the idea of concentrating so many activities there that might otherwise be located elsewhere.[41]

The operations of such a diversity of agencies concerned with a broad scope of functions and with zealously maintaining their separate spheres, gave rise to many problems that no doubt were elements in Secretary Wallace and Under Secretary Tugwell coming to the point of considering Beltsville as "the major proving ground for the development of the idea of centralized control for department field stations." [42]

[40] Paul Appleby to M. E. Eisenhower et al., January 29, 1936; Paul Appleby to R. G. Tugwell and M. L. Wilson, February 1, 1936; R. G. Tugwell to Paul Appleby, February 6, 1936, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives.

[41] C. A. Logan, "Brief History of the Agricultural Research Center;" *U.S.D.A. Press Release,* 486-35, August 30, 1934; Secretary's Memorandum 648, August 28, 1934; Paul Appleby to H. A. Nelson, August 18, 1936, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives.

[42] H. A. Nelson to Paul Appleby, May 24, 1935, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives.

To meet the demand for some administrative coordination that would increase efficiency and uniformity of procedures, all of the work in the Beltsville area and at Glenn Dale was grouped together on August 30, 1934, as the Beltsville Research Center, a title to which some objected since it did not indicate a relationship with the Department of Agriculture. A study of the operations of the Center early the following year revealed that an adequate central organization had not developed and many of the Bureaus were continuing to operate separately and to resist attempts to integrate administrative functions. To solve some of these problems, the Secretary determined that the unit under the jurisdiction of the Director of the Center, with its fiscal, administrative, and personnel responsibilities, was equivalent to a Bureau. In the reorganization process, a number of people were transferred from Bureau payrolls to that of the Center.[43]

Other administrative decisions had to be made to provide a smoothly working system to facilitate the many lines of research that were conducted in the Beltsville area as the scientific Bureaus virtually moved from Washington to Beltsville. While the relocation of the Bethesda Animal Disease Station and the Arlington Farm received considerable attention in the press and in Congress, a number of small projects were also moved there, such as the bee project from Somerset and the apple insect work that the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine had been conducting in a rented laboratory in Takoma Park.

Administrative changes that followed had relatively little effect on the research at Beltsville. Even in 1953, when a major reorganization occurred that affected much of the Department of Agriculture, abolishing the Bureaus as organizational units, research continued in the same channels.

The Agricultural Research Center today has about 10,400 acres of experimental pastures, fields, gardens, orchards, and woods. The Baltimore-Washington Parkway bisects it and the Washington Beltway touches the edge of it, making it readily accessible to the thousands of visitors from other countries as well as from the United States. On adjacent land that was

[43] C. B. Baldwin and F. P. Bartlett to the Secretary, March 28, 1935; Paul Appleby to F. D. Richey, July 17, 1935; Memorandum of H. A. Wallace, October 18, 1935; H. A. Nelson to the Secretary, August 20, 1936, Secretary's Files, R.G. 16, National Archives.

formerly a part of the Center are located the Patuxent Wildlife Refuge and the spectacular Goddard-Space Flight Center of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The Research Center at Beltsville has become the focal point of a nationwide research system. Scientists there work on broad national research problems. The Center has general jurisdiction over many specialized stations in the States and cooperates with State experiment stations that are concerned generally with State and local farm problems. The range of research is broad, both reflecting the needs of the times and seeking new knowledge to advance science.[44]

Results of some of the research at Beltsville reflect this broad range: For example, development of the lean-type hog and the Beltsville turkey to meet present-day market demands. Food scientists conduct dietary studies, and experiments in food preparation and preservation to assure retention of essential nutritive values. Other research covers livestock production and management, production and marketing of field crops, fruits and vegetables, trees, shrubs, and other ornamentals, and the diseases and pests that attack domestic livestock and crops. At the other end of the scale are the pioneering research laboratories, in which scientists probe beyond the borders of knowledge into the unknowns of how and why. They study changes in living cells, the physiology and nutrition of plants, the physiology of insects, virology, and light and growth. The results of these studies are aimed not at solving today's problems, but at providing basic knowledge which may help solve those of tomorrow.

[44] Marguerite Hedge, "Beltsville," in *U.S. Department of Agriculture Yearbook, 1962,* (Washington), pp. 38-44; U.S. Agricultural Research Service, *The Agricultural Research Center of the United States Department of Agriculture* (Washington, June, 1962).

THE LETTERBOOKS OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON, PISCATAWAY FACTOR

PART II, 1774–1775

(Continued from June, 1966)

Edited by RICHARD K. MACMASTER AND DAVID C. SKAGGS

INTRODUCTION

ALEXANDER Hamilton[86] (d. 1799) faced continued frustration in operating his establishment in the latter part of 1774 and early 1775. The Scottish-born factor of James Brown & Co. of Glasgow at their Piscataway, Prince George's County, store found the old problems of collecting debts, of maintaining an adequate stock of items in the store, and of giving a proper price for tobacco compounded by the rising crescendo of revolution.

Traditional concepts and devices were being swept away. An Association of Freeman and Committees of Observation replaced older governmental forms. The more conservative elements in the community (which Hamilton represented) found their traditional place in society being taken by men whom they felt had less than noble motives for their actions. Social discontent against the gentry's predominance appears in the attempts of lower class elements to gain control of the Anglican vestries in order to appoint tobacco inspectors who would be more lenient in their grading of the colony's principal crop,[87] in the closing of local courts so that debts might not be col-

[86] For a detailed study of Hamilton and his letterbooks, see the introduction to Part I of this series (*Md. Hist. Mag.*, LXI [June 1966], pp. 146-166). Part I containing letters 1-4 will be referred to as *supra* in subsequent notations.

[87] See Letter 5, *infra*.

lected,[88] and in overriding gentry objections to burning the brig *Peggy Stewart* in Annapolis Harbor.[89]

Hamilton's letters show how helpless many citizens were in the face of the bitter popular opposition to British attempts at imperial reform in the period after the French and Indian War. The Scot factor appears rather sympathetic to the colonial cause. In this he reflects the opinion of other Marylanders like his friend the Rev. Jonathan Boucher and his customer the Rev. Henry Addison. But these two Prince George's County parsons were among the first to flee Maryland in order to preserve their lives and honor.[90]

The epistles give interesting insights into how effective the colonists believed their non-importation agreements might be upon Parliament and the Crown. Whatever the colonists' hope for repeal of the Tea Act, Hamilton indicates that there was a growing dispair among the colonists as their self-imposed embargo caused economic fluctuations in Maryland. These economic problems fed the growing trend towards independence and brought about the examples of social frustration illustrated above. Hamilton displays a deep concern for the future: "Should the difference betwixt Britain & the Colonys continue one twelve-month longer, and the imports and exports be strictly adhered to, the poor people and all those who could not lay in more Goods than would answer their present necessitys will be in the Utmost Distress, and will I am affraid be exceedingly riotous against the better sort of people who have fully supplyed themselves for a length of time." [91]

James Brown & Co. came into direct conflict with the revolutionaries by the end of 1774 when goods consigned to its Bladensburg factor, James Hoggan, were confiscated by the Committee of Observation for Prince George's County and sold at public auction. Hoggan purchased the goods at the auction but was forced to pay £3 over their cost which was sent by the Committee for the relief of Boston. Mr. Hoggan's stock apparently arrived after the December 1, 1774 deadline for non-

[88] See Letters 5 & 8, *infra*.
[89] See Letter 7, *infra*.
[90] Nelson W. Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore, 1956); "Letters of the Rev. Jonathan Boucher," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, VII (1912), pp. 295, 340, VIII (1913), pp. 44-45, 240; Letter 6, *infra*.
[91] Letter 7, *infra*.

importation of British goods and he was made an example by the Committee.[92] This action is similar to the way that the Anne Arundel County Committee dealt with 24 pipes of Madeira wine imported by the Dick & Stewart Co. of Annapolis after the importation agreements had gone into effect.[93]

In editing this group of letters which continues the story through the opening of the Revolutionary War, some repetitious epistles containing the same intelligence sent by different ships have been omitted. All the letters in this section are drawn on the source previously cited in June.

THE LETTERS

5

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 6th August 1774

Messrs. Jas. Brown & Coy.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last, a copy of which you have inclosed, also the second copys of the three following Bills.

June 10th Thomas Nicholls[94] on West and Hobson Merchts. in London at 30 days sight in favour of John Baptist Mattingly[95]

£ 4 . . 8 . . 4

[June 18] John Baptist Mattingly on West and Hobson, Merchts, in London at 30 days favour of Thomas Nicholls

£ 5 . . 12 . . 3

[92] Letter 9, *infra*.

[93] Annapolis, *Maryland Gazette*, December 15, 1774.

[94] Thomas Nicholls witnessed the will of Dennis Tippett, St. Mary's County, 1773, and Josias Edwards, St. Mary's, 1774 (Magruder, *Abstracts*, II, p. 1, V, p. 38).

[95] John Baptist Mattingly was a son of Thomas Mattingly (d. 1774) of St. Mary's County (Magruder, *Abstracts*, II, p. 32). He owned "Maynards Comfort" 100 acres and "Gaithers Purchase" 40½ acres in 1771 and "The Tems" of 100 acres by 1774, all in St. Mary's (St. Mary's County Debt Books, 1771, fol. 32, 1774, fol. 44, Md. Land Office).

[June 15] Levi Gantt[96] on Mr. James Russell Merchts.[97]
in London at 30 days favour of John Campbell[98]
£ 9..13..9

You have also inclosed Invoice and Bill of Lading for 100 Hhds Tobacco amoun[tin]g to clear of Cask 92,195 lbs. shipped on board the Houston, Capt. Robert McLeish,[99] in place of 100 Hhds. shipped by Mr. Robert Findlay[100] on board the Jenny.[101] You will please to observe that there is a few Hhds. of the damaged Tobacco in this Quantity, which I have noted in the Invoice. I wish it safe home and to a good Market.

Tobacco since my last comes in very slow to the Warehouses and the Inspection closes the 20th instant. Not 150 Hhds at B[roa]d Creek[102] 230 at this House 270 at Pomonkey & 400 at Portobacco.[103] People will not be able to get it down before the 20th and indeed they seem very indifferent about it. Many keep from this House waiting to see whether the price will be equall to the Patuxent prices, and which are, at Upper Marlboro 20/- Nottingham by Messrs. Contee & Bowie 20/-, at McGruder's and Benedict 16/8. We have not offered here yet more than 14/-. But from the Patuxent prices we shall be obliged to give more, though 14/- is too much from your advices to me. Mr. Hoggan[104] writes me the price at Bladensburg & Geo[rge] Town will be 20/- for the meanest quality

[96] Levi Gantt of Prince George's County, planter, leased 130 acres of "Brooke Grove" in Prince George's County from John Gantt of Berkeley County, Virginia, farmer, on Oct. 5, 1778 (Prince George's County Land Records, Liber CC #2 1774-1780, fol. 598, Md. Land Office). For his family see, Bowie, *Across the Years*, p. 86.

[97] James Russell of London was active in the tobacco trade before 1756, when he formed a partnership with Hancock Lee and operated stores at Nottingham, Md. and elsewhere (Bowie, *Across the Years*, p. 519). Russell & Lee had a store at Dumfries, Va. in 1773 and Philip Richard Francis Lee managed the firm's interests on the Potomac *Virginia Gazette* [Purdie & Dixon], January 28, 1773).

[98] John Campbell was a factor for Glassford & Co. in 1774, and an independent merchant in Bladensburg after the Revolution (Glassford Papers, vol. 34, fol. 59, 67).

[99] The *Houston* brought additional goods to the Bladensburg store in December (*Md. Gazette*, January 15, 1775).

[100] Robert Findlay, Jr., a partner in Cuninghame, Findlay & Co. of Glasgow and their chief factor in Maryland.

[101] The *Jenny*, James Cochran, master, regularly shipped goods for James Brown & Co. to Maryland (Glassford Papers, vol. 32, fol. 13 and vol. 141, fol. 171, 228, 229).

[102] Broad Creek, Prince George's County.

[103] According to the act of 1773 tobacco inspectors were appointed for the warehouses at Broad Creek, on the land of Enoch Magruder, at Piscataway, on the land of the late John Hawkins, Jr., both Prince George's County, and at Changler's Point on Port Tobacco Creek and on the land of the late John Truman Stoddert at Pomonkey, both in Charles County (*Arch. Md.*, LXIV, pp. 158-160)

[104] James Hoggan, factor for James Brown & Co. at Bladensburg.

and that rise is owning much to Mr. Adam Stewart[105] at Geo. Town, who thinks it necessary to offer this price to prevent the people from shipping.

The Consignment Gentlemen have this year taken a very unusual method to gain consignments. Mr. Jas. Russell, Mr. Daniel Stephenson, Messrs. Dunlop & Wilson, and Wallace, Davidson & Johnson[106] advance Cash to those who ship, they, the shippers, paying up whatever more the cash advanced amounts to than the net proceeds of their Tobacco when they receive their Accts. of sales. The first and last advance £ 5 Stg. per Hhd., the others £ 6 Stg. pr. Hhd. to those who want the Cash before they receive their sales. There is more shipped on Consignment from Portobacco Warehouse this Inspection than there has been since the inspection Law first took place taking it all together, and I am informed that very few will sell unless they can get 16/8 particularly those who are independent. If I had it in my power to sell what Tobacco Mr. Hoggan may purchase on Bladensburgh & Geo. Town, I think I could sell it at 12/- Bills, but having no letters from you lately advising me what to do in respect to the price of Tobacco or any thing else, I am deterred from making any bargain of this kind. Mr. Baynes[107] has a ship just arrived consigned to him from Mr. Martin of Whitehaven and from him I could get the above price. I expect to hear from you every day, and by a ship belonging to Messrs. Jameson, Johnstone & Compy.[108] which is the first expected into Potow[mac]k [from Glasgow]. By her I expect you have sent the goods for this Store & Blad[ensbur]g. If not, they will be too late for this year, and may be very prejudicial to the Stores, if you continue them. I am at present very bare of the staple articles, not 200 Ells[109] Osnab[urg]s altogether good & bad, no Irish Linen under 1/6, about 100 yds. of Brown sheeting, not a yard of White, no Dunlaps of any

[105] Two lots in George Town and 275 acres in Montgomery County were confiscated from Adam Stewart of Georgetown (Commissioners of Confiscated British Property, Sale Book, 1784, fol. 53, Md. Land Office). In addition to mercantile activities, Stewart (sometimes spelled "Steuart") was engaged in land speculation in Frederick County. Along with Thomas Montgomerie and Cumberland Wilson, he tried to dispose of a 6,300-acre tract called "Merryland" on the Potomac a few miles downstream from Harper's Ferry (*Va. Gazette* [P & D], January 20, February 6, 1772, April 15, 1773; *Arch. Md.*, LXIII, 130-131, 293).

[106] Wallace, Davidson & Johnson chartered the brig *Nancy* in 1775 to load tobacco for London (*Arch. Md.*, XI, p. 53).

[107] John Baynes was 50 years old in 1776, and his wife Mary 49 (Census of 1776, Box 2, Folder 18, Prince George's County, fol. 38, HR). Colonel John Baynes was appointed justice of the peace in 1769 and 1773 (Commission Records, 1726-1786, HR). He owned 432 acres in 1756 and 515 acres in 1771 (Debt Books, Prince George's County, fol. 53, Md. Land Office).

[108] Jamieson, Johnston & Co. of Glasgow imported 492 hogsheads of tobacco in 1774 (Pagan, Glasgow, p. 80).

[109] An ell was a length of cloth 45 inches long.

kind, no Osnabg. thread, Coarse cloth, German serge & Druggets, shoes Men's saddles, snuff, writting paper, not one Ell Rolls, but fine white which does not answer, no Nails but one Cask of 8d., no Locks, Iron potts, Dutch ovens, Best cord, Trace and seine Rope, thread stockings, sticking thread, pine, Needles, Men's & Boys' Felt Hatts, & low priced Castor[110] Hatts; if you have sent the staple Articles of my scheme I shall be able to make my purchase, and if you have complyed with the whole, I make no doubt of being able to sell the whole to advantage from the Scarcity there will be of Goods this fall. My inventory went by the Clyde[111] and she sailed from this about the last of March. You would then see that I was & would be very bare of the Articles I have wrote for. However, whatever you may have thought sufficient for me, it is time they were here.

I have drawn on you favour of Mr. Henry Riddell[112] payable at the house of Messrs. Murrell & Moore, Merchts. in London at 120 days sight for £ 96..4..4 Stg. dated the 12th Instant, being your proportion of a cargoe of Rum and sugar for the Rum Store, which you will please to honour and charge to your Piscattaway Store. I was in hopes that the Gentlemen from whom the purchase was made would have taken cash in payment, but they would not. Exchange has got to 70 pr Cent and I could not get a Bill to answer this demand. I am yet in expectation of being able to remit for it before it becomes due. Messrs. Cuninghame & Compy. have declined three of their stores, viz. Leonardtown, Portobacco, & Bladensburg, at the two first of which or Newport[113] there is good openings for any house that can advance some cash and keep a good assorted store. Goods are very scarce at Portobacco and below. Mr. Mundell[114] has been wanting to buy linens, being very scarce of that article in particular. There is likely to be a dispute betwixt Mr. Craig[115] and the partners of that concern about the breaking up of the Concern, it being done without his privity or Consent, and he has refused to give any thing

[110] Beaver hats. All of these items were regularly stocked in the Piscataway store.

[111] The *Clyde,* John Smith, master, brought goods from Scotland to various Maryland factors (Glassford Papers, vol. 31, fol. 150).

[112] Henry Riddell was Glassford's chief factor in Maryland. He married Ann, eldest daughter of John and Ann (Nisbet) Glassford (Charles County Wills, Liber A.H. #9, 1785-1788, fol. 361, HR). In 1776 he was 30 years old and resided in St. John's Parish, Piscataway, without any family (Census of 1776, Box 2, Folder 18, Prince George's County, fol. 40, HR). He returned to Scotland during the Revolution and in 1781, as "merchant of Glasgow," was admitted as a burgess of that city (*Scottish Record Society Publications,* LXVI, p. 126).

[113] Newport, Charles County.

[114] Robert Mundell was factor for Glassford & Co. at Port Tobacco (Magruder, *Abstracts,* 11, p. 80, V, p. 93).

[115] John Craig, factor for Cuninghame, Findlay & Co. at Port Tobacco (Magruder, *Abstracts,* IV, p. 9).

up untill he has a finall and Just settlement. He has taken the best advice in the province; and to keep possession of every thing untill he gets a satisfactory settlement is the advice.

Agreeable to my advices to you by the Jenny, I shall not expect any ship untill the Month of October; untill that time, or some time in November, we shall not be able to load her; indeed without goods to supply the Necessitys of the people, they will be obliged to sell some of their Tobacco for that purpose, and prevent us from getting enough to load her. I am greatly afraid the resolves throughout the province have been in some degree the cause of Tobacco not being brought so soon to the Warehouses as usual. However the people are alarmed at the scarcity of Goods, and the resolves of non importation and exportation. A general meeting of Deputys from all the colonies is to be at Philadelphia the 18th September to finally settle the Mode of proceeding with great Britain. I wish they may not proceed so violently as they have done; they have already been greatly blamed by the most thinking people who are sensible of the impropriety of such inconsiderate Rash behaviour.

There is the greatest prospect for Good Crops this year that I have ever seen since I came to this Country. There has been double the quantity of Wheat made that ever was before. The prospect for corn is vastly greater than has been seen in the Memory of the Oldest men, and at this Critical time when it is putting out the ears, fine rain, just such as the people desire, and which they say will fully make it. The Tobacco, tho' in many places they are housing [it], yet in the lower parts of the province it is small but in the most flourishing growing state that I have ever seen it. If no accident befalls it hereafter, there will be a very large crop, and it will be considerably increased by the quantity that cannot be got down in time for this Inspection. The Quality of this Inspection is exceedingly bad, more so than I have yet seen. There is the greatest Quantity to pick that was ever known. The generality of the Inspectors on Potowmack & the lower parts of Patuxent are much better Judges than the former Inspectors. Notwithstanding the crop will not be good. The people in debt have been extremely careless in the Cutting down, housing and management in the House[116] and that has proceeded greatly from an opinion they had entertained that there would not be any Inspection Law, and of course if their Tobacco was refused

[116] The debtors, who paid most of their obligations in tobacco, were careless in the cutting, handling, and curing (*i.e.*, putting the tobacco into the tobacco barns or "houses") of the crop. Hamilton accuses them of wanting to produce tobacco in quantity rather than in quality in order to meet their debts. For a detailed discussion of tobacco cultivation, see Meyer Jacobstein, *The Tobacco Industry in the United States* (New York, 1907) and Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860* (2 vols., Washington: 1933), I, chap. X.

they could ship it.[117] The present inspectors in many of the Warehouses have been so nice,[118] that associations have been formed to turn them out before their time was out (for associations are the Modes of procedure now, when the people do not get every thing done their own way) and people have been elected as vestrymen for that purpose by the disaffected to prevent them being chosen next inspection,[119] and I am greatly afraid they will gain their ends, and the only redress the purchasers will have, is that of reviewing which if matters turn out as I have represented will be absolutely necessary.

The Courts of Justice in Virginia at present are stoped, owing to the Legislature not renewing the fee Bill last session of Assembly, and which expired about that time. The people have been resolving violently in Virginia. I was informed the other day by a Gentlemen from Albemarle County, that at a meeting of the people about the tea act, it was proposed among other violences by one of the Leaders that the people should go into the Merchts.' stores, and take what goods they wanted, and pay for them when it suited them at their own price, that the traders had hitherto made them pay very dear and at their own prices for goods they had sold them; That now it was their turn and they would take them at what they thought proper. This proposal met with applause. Such is the Confusion this Country[120] is at present running into. Having by this time heartily tired you, I conclude with assuring you that I am

Gentlemen
Your Most Obt. Servt.
A. H.

By the Houston Capt. Robt. McLeish

[117] The tobacco inspection act of 1747 expired in 1770 and a long acrimonious conflict between the governor and the Lower House of the Assembly began over its re-enactment. For several years there was no legal inspection system for grading tobacco to be sent to market and to pay standing debts. This allowed many persons to meet their obligations with substandard tobacco. Apparently many expected the conflict to continue but the inspection was reinstated by the Assembly in 1773 (*Md. Arch.*, LXII, pp. xxvii-xxxi, LXIII, pp. xxvii-xxxi, LXIV, pp. xvii-xxii; Charles A. Barker, *The Background of the Revolution in Maryland* [New Haven, Conn., 1940], pp. 345-358).

[118] Apparently Hamilton means that the tobacco inspectors have been "'nice" to him and other creditors by being very strict in the grading of the crop.

[119] Among the non-religious duties of the Anglican vestries was the selection of tobacco inspectors for their particular parish. Apparently Hamilton feels that some of the lesser freeholders of the parishes were backing the election of vestrymen who would select more lenient inspectors which would be important to those owing debts payable in tobacco.

[120] By "country" he is referring to Maryland and/or Virginia. One will note that many of the acts of violence and radicalism to which Hamilton refers to be happening in Virginia would shortly happen in Maryland (*e.g.*, Letters 7, 9, 10, 11, *infra*).

6

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 14 Octr. 1774

Messrs. James Brown & Compy.

Gentn.

On the 12th Instant I received your favour of the 11th August by the Jenny, covering Bill of Lading and Invoice of Sundry Goods amounting to £ 431..18..7 Stg. and Francis Gilbert's Bill[121] protested for £ 30, and which is at your Credit with this store. I have carefully observed the Contents and shall answer it as fully as I can by the Jenny. The small quantity of goods you have sent will not preserve the Custom of this store, if you continue it. You have not sent any low priced Irish Linen & Dowlass, articles very much wanted, and which the people cannot do without. The consequence is if they can get at any other place, on Credit or for Tobacco payable in the Spring, they will supply themselves. Had you sent me in place of the Broad and Narrow Hoes, which I did not write for, & which you must have seen by my Inventory were not wanted, Irish Linens or Dunlaps, it would have been much more for your Interest. The Hoes will Ly on Hand for a long time. I shall as I have hitherto done, try to Lump off the Superfluous Articles in the store, but they are such as most stores are already overstocked with, and will in all probability still Ly on hand. Mr. John Rowand's[122] Hatts arrived safe, shall sell them and Credit when sold as directed.

The Congress have resolved that the nonimportation take place the 1st Decemr. next,[123] and it is said, though the Congress have not yet published their resolves, that the exportation will be stopped next September untill the Act of Parliament so Obnoxious to the Americans is repealed. In the Northern Colonys the people are Determined not to submit to be internally taxed by Great Britain and will go any Lengths rather than give up their Libertys. I wish

[121] See Letter 3, *supra.*, note 76.

[122] John Rowand, merchant, son of John Rowand, hatmaker, was admitted as a burgess of Glasgow in 1770 *(Scottish Record Society Publications,* LXVI, p. 70). He was a partner in James Brown & Co. before 1784 (Glassford Papers, vol. 34, fol. 70).

[123] The first Continental Congress resolved unanimously to adopt non-importation of British goods, effective Dec. 1, 1774, at its session on Sept. 27, 1774. On Sept. 30, 1774 it voted to stop exportation to Britain and the West Indies on September 10, 1775 (Edmund Cody Burnett, *The Continental Congress* [New York, 1964], p. 46).

this affair may be amicably settled, otherways it will be extremely prejudicial to both partys.

The Jenny has arrived at a very bad time to get quickly loaded, so many ships being arrived Just before her that all the Craft is Employed and untill some of them gets dispatched she must ly.

I refer you to my last, and have only to add that I am

Gentn.
Your Most Obt. Servt.
A. H.

7

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 31st Octr. 1774

Messrs. James Brown & Compy.

Gentn.

I refer you to my last by the Molly Capt. Sterrat who only sailed a few days ago, and since which I have received your favour by the Active including Invoice of three Bales of Cotton at your Credit, also the Amount of the Goods Shipped in the Annapolis; she is not yet arrived. You have now inclosed Copys of my Last, Invoice & bill of lading for 218 Hogsheads of Tobacco amounting to 201,899 lbs Nett and Capt. Cochran's[124] Bill on you in my favour for £ 95..16..9 Stg. at your debit with this store, also Gavin Hamilton Smith's[125] Bill on Messrs. Mildred & Roberts Merchts. in London at 30 days sight in my favour for £ 60..18..11½ Stg. dated the 28 Instant at your Debit on the Lower Marlbro' Books, and the same sum at your Credit for his Bill on Molleston[126] returned protested by the Active,

[124] Capt. James Cochran of the *Jenny*. Of the other vessels mentioned in this paragraph, further identification of the *Molly* or Capt. Sterratt has not been found and the *Active*, William Miller, master, left Glasgow for Maryland, August 29, 1774 (Glassford Papers, vol. 31, fol. 176).

[125] Gavin Hamilton Smith of Calvert County, son of Maj. John Smith and his wife Mary, daughter of Dr. John Hamilton (Wills, Liber 30, fol. 772-773, HR) and owner of 1305 acres in that county in 1774 (Debt Books, Calvert County, 1774, fol. 24, Md. Land Office). See Letter 1 and note 55, *supra*.

[126] William Molleson, merchant of London. See Letter 3, *supra*.

the Extraordinary charges of Postage, Commission & notarial Copy I cannot recover, nor indeed legally any other charge, 15 pr Cent being only allowed by law in full of all charges & damages whatever, but Custom prevails so far as to allow the Charges of Protest, tho' many will only pay 4/3 for that. Francis Gilbert's Bill I have sent up to Frederick County where he lives, to receive the payment, with orders, in case it is not Complyed with either in Cash or Bills of Exchange with a good Indorser, to bring suit on it immediately. Alexander Hamilton Smith's[127] Bill I have not yet received the payment of. I have got his obligation to pay me Interest on Principall and Damages from the 24th June last. He is to pay me at Calvert County, November Court, which will begin the 15th November. The Certificate for the Tea, I have repeatedly wrote to the Collector to send it to you or Messrs. Edward & René Payne of London and have requested Capt. Cochran to inform himself, if it is sent home, & if not to carry it with him. He will write me from the office[128] about it, and if necessary [I] will send down about it.

I need not say much more about the Goods you have sent out than what I have already said. The lateness of their coming and the small quantity has proved very prejudicial to my purchase, & many of my best customers have been under the necessity of lying out part of their Crops at other places. You made a very great mistake in sending hoes instead of Irish Linens, having a greater quantity of the first than I wanted, and no low priced of the last, and Check and stript Holland will not suit women. The osnaburgs and Bramen Sheeting were very good, greatly superior to any that I have ever seen in this store from Glasgow. [I] have sold them all, the Osnaburghs @ 1/6, 1/7 & 1/8 per Ell, the Sheeting @ 3/- per yd. It is the best I ever saw imported at the price, and has sold at a very good Profit; if you . . .[129] it, such Linen if you continue your Stores, is worth your particular attention. The Check & Hanffs[130] were very dear, the Osnaburgh thread most extravagantly so. I have often seen better @ 4d pr Cheaper, the White Sheeting, very Dear, the Cloths good, the Nails cheaper but Inferior in quality. As the Cottons are not yet come to hand, [I] cannot inform you any thing about them. The Hatts I have not opened, having been under the

[127] Alexander Hamilton Smith of Calvert County, brother of Gavin Hamilton Smith (note, 125, *supra*), who inherited "Batchelors Quarter," 439 acres, from his father (Wills, Liber 30, fol. 772-773, HR). He still held this land in 1774 (Debt Books, Calvert County, 1774, fol. 24). See Letters 2 and 3, *supra*, for earlier references to him.

[128] The customs house.

[129] A word is missing in the original.

[130] Handkerchiefs?

Necessity of purchasing a box in the Country,[131] which I have not sold yet. I also purchased a Ca[s]k of Sadles[132] pay[ab]l[e] the 1st of March next. As these purchases were made solely for your Interest as far as my notion of it led me, I hope you will approve of them.

I shall give due attention to your orders, about any Tobacco that may hereafter meet with the fate of the 30 Hhds., which has occasioned them. In my agreement with Mr. Findlay[133] I proposed that each party should pay the freight on the delivery of the Tobacco, and which he would not agree to. I then rejected his offer. But immediately after, reflecting that unless I could get a freight soon, & which I found I could not do, the detention of the Ship would be a greater loss to you than any advantage that could accrue to you by the use of the Money for so short a time.

The Collection of your debts I have given due attention to, and shall continue it while I have the Management of your Business. Nothing shall be wanting on my part to get Bonds and Notes as well as signed Settlements, which I am very sensible is very advantageous in Collecting debts, as well as conducting Business with propriety. With respect to the Cash on hand I formerly wrote you about, I cannot give you a minute relation of it without transmitting you a Copy of the Cash Acct. from that time, and when I tell you that I have expended it for your Interest in the most advantageous manner I could, I hope you will be satisfied with that, until you receive your state, which will be as early after the first of January as I can.

Your advice respecting the purchasing of Tobacco came abundantly too late, the purchase being over before the Jenny arrived. It came on earlier this year than Usual, the reason, in the light it appears to me, being the scarcity of Goods. The price has been & still is 20/- Currency per Cnw.[134] That price I have given, and I could not do business on better terms than my Neighbours, who have pushed their purchase briskly at that.

I have sold one of the Horses on hand at the Inventory; the other three are still on hand, one of which came from the Lower Marlbro' store. He shall be sold as soon as possible. I can assure you that I do not want to burden the Store with any unnecessary expence, being as sensible as any person can be, that the small purchase I

[131] Hats were manufactured locally in many of the Colonies (Dickerson, *Navigation Acts,* pp. 20, 46).

[132] A saddle is the whole upper portion of an animal carcass.

[133] Robert Findlay, chief Maryland factor for Cuninghame, Findlay & Co. of Glasgow, see Letter 1, *supra.*, note 44.

[134] Hundredweight.

make, cannot afford it. If one horse would answer for the Business of the Store I should desire no more. But three times the value of one might be lost, by retrenching the expence of one.

Mr. Leitch[135] went to Bladensburgh Store after Mr. Campbell's Death.[136] It was thought prudent by Mr. Miller[137] and myself to give him up his Indentures at the repeated requests of his Brothers, having at that time no use for him, & his staying in the Company's employ would be a needless expence to them. As he lived at Bladensburgh I imagined Mr. Miller would have informed you of this. Mr. Anderson[138] left this in April last to take charge of Messrs. George & Andrew Buchanan's Store[139] at Newport. In his place and at the same Wages, £ 30 Stg. pr Annum, I engaged Mr. Noble Baynes.[140] I hope you will not impute this[141] to any disrespect or willful neglect. I thought I had advised you thereof. For the future I shall not neglect to give you due notice of every thing of the kind.

All my Tobacco except a few Hogsheads is on board the Jenny. Mr. Hoggan will have some left. Application has been made to me for freight of 100 Hhds. in the Eolus[142] and also to Mr. Hoggan. I offered to take an Exchange freight for as much as we had to Ship; the same quantity to be put on board the first Ship of yours that arrived next Spring or Summer, but Mr. John Campbell[143] who freights the Eolus would not accept the offer. In that event I advised him to keep it for your own Ship, that we may have it in our power to give her quick dispatch when she arrives. Mr Hoggan writes you about it.

The Weather has been very favourable for Shipping Tobacco. Tomorrow Evening the Jenny will have been three weeks at her Moorings and has met with quicker dispatch than I expected when

[135] No positive identification can be made. William Leach, Sr., William, Jr., Benjamin, John, Josiah and Thomas took the oath of allegiance in Montgomery County in 1778 (Oath of Allegiance, Box 4, Folder 3, Montgomery County, HR).

[136] Alexander Campbell died May 13, 1773.

[137] James Miller, aged 33 years, appears on the 1776 census (Census of 1776, Box 2, Folder 18, Prince George's County, fol. 19, HR). He returned to Scotland in 1787 (Glassford Papers, vol. 34, fol. 77).

[138] John Anderson later joined the firm of John and Alexander Anderson of London, sometime before 1784 (Glassford Papers, vol. 34, fol. 53).

[139] George and Andrew Buchanan were Glasgow merchants..

[140] Joseph Noble Baynes was 25 years old and unmarried in 1776 (Census of 1776, Box 2, Folder 18, Prince George's County, fol. 38, HR). He is the son of Col. John Baynes of Piscataway (see note 107, *supra*). He later took charge of the Bladensburg store of Brown & Co. (Glassford Records, vol. 143, fol. 217).

[141] The failure to notify Brown in advance.

[142] The *Eolus,* Capt. Alexander Auld, previously brought British goods to Piscataway (Glassford Records, vol. 31, fol. 56). Apparently the ship was regularly used by Glassford & Co. for their activities and now had a Captain Rankin as master.

[143] John Campbell, a factor for Glassford in Maryland (see note 98, *supra*).

I wrote you last. The Crop of Tobacco is all safely housed and will be large. But the inclosed copy of the Continentall resolves[144] will show you that by keeping up your Tobacco, a good price may be got for it, provided there is not an amicable Settlement betwixt Great Britain and the Colonys before planting time; if not, very few People will plant any Tobacco, and of course you will not have any more for Two years except what can be shipped off before the Tenth day of September next. This Copy of the Resolves is not so full and explicit as it ought to be, but it is the best I can procure at this time. I hope I shall be able to send you a full and distinct account of the whole proceedings of the Congress, by the Moore, who will be clear to sail by the 20th of November, if the Weather permitts.

The Colonys are extremely averse to the late Parliamentary Measures, and say they will never submitt to be taxed without their Consent, but would be willing to pay any reasonable sum towards the Exigencys of Government provided they are allowed to raise it as they Judge most convenient for themselves. This Measure is much talked of, and if settled agreable to both partys, would prevent a great deal of Mischief. There is no knowing what lengths a riotous mob will go, headed by a few violent hott headed Men. An instance of it happened at Annapolis about ten days ago. A ship (Brig)[145] belonging to Messrs. Dick & Stewart[146] arrived at Annapolis. On board of her was a quantity of Tea consigned to Messrs. Williams Merchts.[147] in that City. Mr Stewart imprudently entered his Ship and paid the duty. The Committee of the City & County assembled & were of opinion that the tea should be burnt. They delivered their opinion to the people, a Majority of whom were satisfied with that, but a few people from Elkridge & Baltimore[148] insisted on

[144] Burnett, *Continental Congress*, p 46.

[145] The *Peggy Stewart* of Annapolis. This description of the burning of this vessel in the Annapolis harbor is one of the few known to exist and it demonstrates the rising tempo of the struggles between America and Britain; struggles in which Hamilton found himself deeply involved. The willful destruction of the vessel and its cargo, valued at £ 1,896, caused the late A. M. Schlesinger to say that compared to the tea party in the north, "Annapolis had out-Bostoned Boston." (Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Colonial Merchants and the American Revolution, 1763-1776* [New York, 1939], p. 392). For other first-hand descriptions of the *Peggy Stewart* arson, see: Fisher Transcripts, vol. 11, Md. Hist. Soc.; *Md. Gazette*, Oct. 20, 1774; William Eddis, *Letters from America* (London, 1792), pp. 171-184; "Account of the Destruction of the Brig 'Peggy Stewart' at Annapolis, 1774," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXV (1901), pp. 248-254.

[146] James Dick and Anthony Stewart, Annapolis merchants.

[147] Thomas Charles Williams & Co.

[148] Dr. Ephraim Howard and Dr. Alexander Warfield led the group from Elkridge, and Rezin Hammond led another from the head of the Severn, both in Anne Arundel County; from Baltimore Town and County came groups headed by Charles Ridgely, Jr., Mordecai Gist, and John Deavor.

burning the Ship along with the tea. The people were again assembled, and it was again put to the Vote, and there was a great Majority for Burning the tea only. However those Desperadoes from Elkridge and Baltimore threatened immediately to go up to Elkridge and bring down 3,000 Men, put Mr. Stewart to Death, pull down and Destroy his house, and burn his Ship, unless he would himself go and with them set fire to his own Ship, and which he was under the Necessity of doing or be Murdered. This Step is Generally exclaimed against by every prudent man, and particularly by the Committee & Inhabitants of Annarundel County, whose province alone, it was to Judge of this Matter, looking on it as a most scandalous insult offered to them by these people from the Upper Countys. Should the difference betwixt Britain & the Colonys continue one twelve-month longer, and the imports & exports be strictly adhered to, the poor people and all those who could not lay in more Goods than would answer their present Necessitys will be in the Utmost Distress, and will I am affraid be exceedingly riotous against the better sort of people who have fully supplyed themselves for a Length of time. If the Premier[149] who seems to be thoroughly acquainted with the Situation of this Country and its Inhabitants, and a man of great firmness, should persevere in his Plan, I am greatly affraid he will gain his point, however it will not be without some Bloodshed. It is said the people of Masuchusetts bay are very desirous of cutting off Generall Gage, before he has fortified himself and received fresh reinforcements from Britain & the other parts of the Continent. I sincerely wish these disputes were amicably settled, and to the Satisfaction of both Partys.

Having found it impossible from the Constant interruption I meet with, to do your business as it ought to be done, in the Counting room of the Store, It being absolutely necessary in making settlements with the people to be private, and the want of which has often prevented me, when it ought to have been done, I therefore built a house at my own expence, Two rooms, and a bed room, and for that purpose the beds were got, also the bed Linnen, and part of which came from Lower Marlbro' store, and also many inconveniencys has arose by one of Mr. Baynes'[150] sons being married. I shall charge a reasonable Rent for these two Rooms. The expence of the beds and Linen will be no great burden to the Store as they will sell at any time for what they cost.

I have been under the Necessity of Shipping four Crop Hhds. of Tobo, from Planters Warehouse on Patuxent River of last year's

[149] Lord North

[150] Col. John Baynes, with whom Hamilton and his fellow James Brown & Co. employees previously roomed in Piscataway.

inspection, not being able to Change it for Tobacco on this River, as it was a house sett by the Planters in that Neighbourhood in opposition to the usual Warehouse at Mr. Alexr. Magruder's, and by a Clause in the present Inspection Law, all received Tobacco if not Shipped before the 1st day of November must again be inspected before it can be Shipped, and I did not care to be at the expence, and also run the Risk of its being Refused and burnt. It is consigned to Mr. William Molleson Merchant of London, and on him you have inclosed an order for the Nett proceeds, which when you receive you will please advise me, that I may debit you therewith.

The Numbers 339, 340, 341 & 342 are Double Numbers,[151] by the intention of the Pomonkey [tobacco] Inspectors.

I am Gentn
Your Most Obt. Servt.
A. H.

By the Jenny, Captn. Cochran

8

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 23d Decemr. 1774

Messrs James Brown & Compy.

Gentlemen

I received your favour of the 24th October by the Houston, acknowledging receipt of mine of the 6th, 10th & 25 August & covering Gilbert's Bill on West & Hobson protested and state of the Lower Marlbro' store. I refer you to my last, copy of which you have inclosed, & Invoice of 17 Hhds. Tobacco shipped by me on board the Eolus amounting to 15,083 lbs. at your debit. I intended to have shipped 10 Hhds. more, and had delivered them to the Master of the flatt who carried the 16 from this W'house. He accordingly called at Pomonkey W'house where the Tobo. lay and after staying there two days, he went away without them, as the Weather proved unfavourable for taking them off, [and] he would not stay any longer for them. I have given you Credit for Gilbert's protest & for £ 20 Stg. advanced my Sisters.[152] I refer you to Mr. Hoggan for the Terms on which the above Tobacco is Shipped, he having agreed

[151] These are numbers identifying the hogsheads of tobacco.
[152] Hamilton's sisters, Jacobina Reid and Elizabeth Hamilton.

for the Exchange freight. The quantity of goods on hand will be small, to what they have been at taking the Inventory. There will be a large quantity of some particular articles, of which I had a sufficiency for two or three Stores.

The present Confusions here are greatly against importing Goods or having any kind of trade and I am now well satisfied that you sent no more Goods than you did. I can assure you I have done every thing in my power to make you a good remittance, and if it has not answered your expectations, I can only say that I am sorry for it, and that I can do no more until an alteration of times, and this Anarchy and Confusion Subsides. I am very sensible that many of the Debts have been too long due as well as too large. I am diminishing them as fast as prudence will permit me. I expected to have made a good remittance next year, but some late Violences have altered my Expectations. This Week at Charles County adjourned Court, a few Men of desperate fortune Viz. Joseph Hanson Harrison, Francis Ware & Doctor John Parnham[153] went into Court and made a motion that the Courts of Justice should be immediately stopped. They were opposed, though very faintly, yet it prevented them from gaining their point. Notwithstanding they gained another very material one, to have the Court adjourned untill February, which the Justices have been greatly blamed for complying with. If this example is followed, (which I hope will not) adieu to Liberty and everything that is desirable in Life. One of Parnham's arguments for abolishing the Courts of Justice was "that by continuing to administer Justice impartially, the Trader would receive the payment of his debts and of course be enabled to make remittances to his Constituents, and which would be furnishing our enemies with weapons to fight us, and which we ought by every Method in our power to prevent them from receiving." It is expected when the Court meets in February, that the above motion will be renewed and carried, if so, my remittances will not be as good as I expected. I shall reexamine the Lower Marlbro' State[154] and papers and if I

[153] All three were Patriot leaders and members of the Charles County Committee of Observation (Margaret Brown Klapthur, *History of Charles County* [La-Plata, 1958], p. 51 ff). The will of Joseph Hanson Harrison, dated Oct. 28, 1784 and probated May 20, 1785, mentions his sons, Richard and Joseph White Harrison, and his daughters, Mary Hutchinson and Dorothy Harrison (Charles County Wills, Liber A.H. #9, 1785-1788, fol. 60, HR). Dr. John Parnham of "Mount Pleasant," Charles County, died in 1813 (Charles County Wills, Liber H.D.-B.H. #13, 1808-1817, fol. 248, HR). Francis Ware was appointed Lt. Col. of Smallwood's Md. Regt. Jan 14, 1776 and Colonel of the 1st Md. Regt. on Dec. 10, 1776. He resigned his commission Feb. 18, 1777 (Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army* [Washington, 1914], p. 568).

[154] The "state" or condition of affairs at the Lower Marlboro store of James Brown & Co.

find any error in it shall inform you thereof. As you are satisfied with the Method of making out the state of your Business here, I shall continue it in future.

Inclosed is a Copy of the Provincial resolves.

The People expect great prices for their Tobacco this ensuing summer at least 35/- Curry., for my part I cannot see any reason why it should be higher than it now is; the scarcity cannot be given as one, the Crop is large and very good, and the prices at present at home will not warrant a greater, scarcely that. The nonexportation should be a means of keeping it down, for the Trade will get their quantity time enough to ship it before the 10th day of September next, well knowing that the people must part with it before that time, as it will be rendered of no use to them at least for some considerable time, and if they speculate, they will be taken in, for the Planters will endeavour at as great crops as heretofore, and should the dispute betwixt Britain & the Colonys continue a year and a half unsettled, the quantity on hand will be great & of course more than enough to Supply the European Markets. Goods will command Cash, if that is scarce, it will Tobacco at a moderate price. Should the price exceed 25/- or 27/6, what shall I do? Ship or Sell? If the non-exportation continues, Tobacco will rise with you, this is the prevailing opinion here.

Capt. Cochran carried home the Certificate for the Tea, which I hope you will receive safe, if you have not already.

The Naval Officer's fees & dutys of the Moore's Cargoe is £ 44..12..10 Stg. for which Capt. McLeish[155] drew a bill on you payable at the house of Messrs. Murrell and Moore in London at 30 days in my favour and indorsed by me. He cleared out at the Lower office the 24th Ultimo with a wind at N.W.

My goods by the Annapolis[156] are just come to the Wharf, seven packages. What they contain I do not know, not having received any Letters, nor can I hear any thing of them. I shall be at a loss how to sell them, unless they are the same as those shipped to Mr. Hoggan; if they are, from him I may get the prices. I have only to add that I am

Gentn.
Your Most Obt. Servt.
A. H.

By the Eolus Capt. Rankin

[155] James McLeish was master of the *Moore*, a vessel regularly used by Brown & Co. for shipping their goods. Previously he had been master of the *Jenny* (Glassford Papers, vol. 141, fol. 160, 171, 228, 232).

[156] The *Annapolis*, Thomas Eden, master, arrived at Piscataway December 24, 1774 (Glassford Papers, vol. 31, fol. 177)

9

To James Brown

Piscatty. 29th Decemr. 1774

Dear Sir,

I refer you to my last a copy of which you have inclosed and the second setts of [Bills of] Exchange therein mentioned. Nothing material has happened Since I wrote you last, and I have only to add that I am

Dear Sir
Yours Sincerely
A. H.

N.B. Mr. Hoggan informs me that the Committee [of Observation in Prince George's County] have sold his goods, that he purchased them himself, and gave £ 3 Currency more than the amount of the Invoice, and which by the Resolve goes to the poor of Boston.[157] By the Lady Margaret, Noble.[158]

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To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 3d April 1775

Messrs James Brown & Co.

Gentlemen

I Refer you to my last. Since which I have Received your favour of the 13th January by the Patuxent,[159] also copy thereof by the

[157] The *Houston,* Robert McLeish, master, arrived at the Bladensburg store after the December 1, 1774 deadline for the non-importation agreements to go into effect. At a meeting on December 24, 1774, the Committee of Observation for the District of Bladensburg had the goods sold at auction with the difference between their cost and the auction price going to the "profit of Boston" *(Md. Gazette,* January 5, 1775).

[158] Capt. William Noble of the *Lady Margaret* frequently brought goods to Hamilton (Glassford Papers, vol. 31, fol. 139), but apparently it regularly traded with the Glassford & Co. factors.

[159] Positive identification of this vessel cannot be made. In 1771, the *Patuxent,*

Potomack,[160] acknowledging receipt of my Sundrys covering Invoice of 218 Hhds, Tobacco by the Jenny, Capt. Cochran's draught of £ 95..16..9½, Gavin Hamilton Smith's of £ 60..18..11½ and Alexr. Hamilton Smith's of £ 39..9..0. I am glad to hear the Jenny's cargo turns out so well, and expect you have Sold it to a good Markett. I have spoke to Gavin H. Smith about his bill being Noted; he says he will take it up immediately on its being Protested & Returned. I hope you have Received and also sold to a good Markett the Tobacco shipped you in the Houston by Mr. Hoggan and my self.

I observe what you say in respect to the Jenny's comeing by the way of Holland, and of the Moore's being chartered to Mr. Glassford & going the Same Voyage. I shall do my best endeavour & I am satisfied Mr. Hoggan will do his, to dispatch the Jenny & any other Charter you may take from Mr. Glassford.[161] But Such are the Times, that I cannot say with any certainty what collection will be made this year. I am greatly afraid it will be short of what it ought to be. I shall pay due regard to what you say about Lumber & getting Clear of all my Tobacco before the Tenth of September in case the present differences are not accomodated.

The People talk of a very great price for their Tobacco this year, tho' nothing more than 20/- Currency has been offered here as yet. The high accompts from London this Last Winter and Spring give them, they Say, a certainty of the price being high here, and I am afraid will prevent them from parting with their Tobacco as early as the times Require, yet I think, if reconciliation takes place betwixt Britain & the Colonys before the middle of August, they will be glad to part with it. And Also, if the General Congress which will meet in May, do not prolong the exportation, and which may be prolonged, As the Tobacco Colonys are as forward in preparing

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Capt. Hannibal Lusk, called at Piscataway after a voyage from London (Glassford Papers, vol. 31, fol. 73, 92). The ship *Potuxent,* David Lewis, master and owner, a 200-ton vessel registered in London, entered Annapolis May 1, 1775 (Port of Annapolis, Entry Records, 1756-1775, Md. Hist. Soc.).

[160] This could be one of two vessels of this name noted in the records. The snow *Potomack,* Archibald Graham, master, 140 tons, cleared Annapolis for Cork, December 24, 1774, with a load of flour and staves. She was registered in Dublin to William and Arthur Bryan (Port of Annapolis, Clearance Records, 1756-1775, Md. Hist. Soc.). A ship *Potowmack,* Captain James Mitchel, 200 tons, registered in London to Thomas Eden and Christopher Court, entered Annapolis, July 19, 1775 from Liverpool carrying ballast (Port of Annapolis, Entry Records, 1756-1775).

[161] John Glassford (1715-1783) played an important part in the development of the Glasgow tobacco trade. Among many business activities he was a partner in John Glassford & Co. and the largest shipowner in Scotland (*DNB,* VII, p. 1301). He apparently leased the *Moore* for this particular trip.

for another Crop as ever I knew them, and very small preparations for raising any thing to provide against the Worst, being very sanguine in their opinion that the Laws will be Repealed and plenty of goods in this Summer. Should an accomodation not take place, the People will be in the Greatest distress imaginable, and I am afraid will create a great deal of Mischief among themselves.

I now inclose you a State of Last year's purchase. The papers are as follows: List of Debts, Inventory of Goods, your acct., Cash acct., Charges & my own Acct. You will see the Tobacco cost 18/6 Sterling. From the prices you quote to me this purchase will be a saving one. I wish the next may turn out as well. You will observe there is a great many goods on hand, but they are such Articles as are not the most saleable at this time. Were they such as I could wish, the quantity would produce a very ready Sale. You will also observe that the Debts are not much Reduced, and that I am taking every Step, that the Law will give me, to do it, and at any other time than this, I should have been able to make them considerably less before this time, but good order, Regularity and Justice seem to be declining fast, and very unpopular they are, and I am afraid will be more so, if affairs do not take a turn soon. You have also inclosed William Digges'[162] first [Bill] of Exchange on Thos. Eden & Company Merchants in London dated the 16 Ultimo in my favour for £ 91..6..9 Stg. which you will please pass to the Credit of this Store. Old Sir Jasper is a man of a Bad Heart.[163] I was under the Necessity of Suing him and got a judgment against him at November Court, with a stay of Execution to March last. I received Interest, and which, though not adequate to your lying out of the debt, is some recompensation. I have drawn on you of this date favour of Alexr. Brown & Co. G[lasgow] at 40 Days sight £ 31..2..8 Stg., which you will please to honour and charge to this Store. It is in part of some osnabrigs which I sold for them. Exchange has taken a very sudden fall. It is at present from 55 to 60 per Cent. But it is said to be owing to a Scarcity of Cash. But I rather think it owing to the Debtors to Britain delaying to make Remittances, waiting for a Confirmation of the continuance of these times, that they may have an Excuse not to pay their Debts. This is all Conjecture of my own,

[162] William Digges (1713-1783) of Warburton Manor, Prince George's County. One of Maryland's most prominent Roman Catholic laymen, he was the son of Charles and Susanna (Lowe) Digges and he married Ann Attwood in 1739 (Bowie, *Across the Years*, p. 255). He owned 6,548 acres in the county in 1771 (Debt Books, Prince George's County, 1771, fol. 14) and in 1776 had 41 slaves at Warburton and 87 at his Bladensburg estate (Census of 1776, Box 2, folder 18, fol. 40, HR).

[163] Apparently a reference to William Digges, above.

and it is founded on my being well Satisfied, notwithstanding the outcry, that there is plenty of Circulating Money in the Country.

These Ships have got here so much Sooner than Expected that I cannot now Send you a State of your Lower Marlbro' Store, but Shall next opportunity. I have Examined the former State and Cannot find any Error in it. I have only to add that I am

Gentlemen
Your Most obt. Servt.
A. Hamilton

By the Potowmack Captn Bruce[164] 3d April 1775.

11

To James Brown and Company

Piscattaway 16th May 1775

Messrs. James Brown & Compy.

Gentlemen

I refer you to my last, since which I have been favoured with yours of the 3d and 27th February & 9th March with Copy of the Charter Party with Mr. Glassford, all which I have carefully Observed. It gives me great pleasure to find our last years remittance will turn out advantageous, and make you some recompense for the Losses you have formerly sustained. My present prospect of a remittance for this year is very unpromising. The unhappy dispute betwixt Great Britain & her Colonys will throw every thing into the greatest confusion and must in a short time be extremely distressing to both Countrys, for in all probability, unless the Mother Country will quickly adopt some Conciliatory Measures, all commercial intercourse betwixt the two Countrys will be stopped. It is at this time generally believed that the Congress now sitting at Philadelphia will put an immediate stop to the Exportation and also take the Different Governments into their own hands. Should that be the case, your property here will be in a very desperate situation. I am also well satisfied that many Debtors are desirous and would willingly pay their Debts, though many would be very glad of the Excuse, but it will not then be in their power, having no specie among them, and if they had, no Trade to Command it. I yet hope that by the pru-

[164] Positive identification of the *Potowmack* (note 160, *supra)* cannot be made since no record of a Captain Bruce can be found.

dence & Wisdom of this Great Assembly, a happy & Lasting reconciliation will be effected and which I believe is the sincere desire of every well wisher to this Country. There has been an engagement betwixt the Regulars & the Country people of Massachusetts Bay.[165] It is told many different ways, by the Country people that the Regulars were the aggressors, and by the Regulars, that the Country people were the aggressors. I inclose you one of the Accounts of the Engagement, and I make no doubt, but you will see all the other Accts., as well as what has been done by the severall Colony and Provincial Congresses in the present disputes.

Tobacco has come into the Warehouses here very slow, and I have as yet made very small collections, not above fifty Hhds. It is not in my power to advise you with any degree of certainty what remittances I shall be able to make you, & I am much affraid it will not be such a one as I could wish or you may expect. Even if the exports are not immediately stopped, the Jenny must lay a considerable time in the Country, and I am affraid the Charter you have taken in Mr. Glassford's ship must be Complyed with by staves. However you may depend that I will exert myself in making as good a Collection as Possible and get it all sent home before the 10th September. I shall pay due attention to your orders relative to shipping your Tobacco to London. The distressed situation people are in for want of Coarse Goods, I am affraid will hurt my Collection, for many of my Customers will lay out, what they ought to pay me, for Goods if they are to be got. In your letter of the 13th January you advise me that Gavin Hamilton Smith's Bill was noted for non-acceptance, But since you have not said anything about it, from which I conclude that you have received the payment of it. I have debited yr. account with the Nett proceeds of 4 Hhds. Tobacco ship'd Mr. William Molleson of London £ 26..0..5 Stg. as by his Acct. of sales. Inclosed you have Copys of List of Debts & your Acct. with the Lower Marlbro' store. I expect to hear from you by every opportunity. Tobacco at present here 20/- Curry. It would have been higher before this time, but the talk of the exports being to be stop'd immediately[166] has prevented it; if they are continued open untill September, it is expected it will be very high. The Crop will be an average one, and in quality very good. People very forwards for another one, but great Complaints for want of plants. They have hitherto put very little faith in the non importation & exportation, and said with their usual Jelousie, that it was all a trick of the Merchants to get their Tobacco for little or nothing. However

[165] The battles at Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775.
[166] The rumor proved false and exportation continued.

they now begin to think very seriously of it, and are beginning to sow flax & Cotton, & putting their Tobacco grounds into Corn. I have only to add that I am with great respect

Gentlemen
Your most Obt. Servt.
A. H.

By the Lady Margt. Capt. Wm. Noble.

(Continued in June, 1967)

BISHOP WHITTINGHAM, THE MARYLAND DIOCESE, AND THE CIVIL WAR

By Richard R. Duncan

The disruptive forces of the Civil War had disturbing effects on the Maryland Diocese of the Protestant Episcopal Church. As a border state with divided loyalties, Maryland was torn by the agonies of internal strife, and controversy cut across religious as well as political lines to threaten the very unity of the Church. The question of loyalty and of the Church's relationship to the war posed a difficult dilemma for Maryland parishioners. Under the firm leadership of Bishop William Robinson Whittingham the diocese officially affirmed its loyalty to the Union and supported the government. But internal dissension made such policy less than a reality, and the question of loyalty remained a perplexing one for the duration of the war.[1]

Bishop Whittingham strongly opposed secession, and throughout the war period he used his influence in support of the Federal government. He believed that secession was a grievous wrong, and in justifying his position he relied upon the injunction contained in the twenty-eighth canon of the Convocation Book of 1604, in which it was stated that if a person rebelled against constituted authority, he "doth greatly err." On the question of the origins of the United States, the Bishop refused to concern himself with this issue since he had been born under its jurisdiction. In accepting the Constitution as the government of the thirty-four states, he felt that as a citizen and as a minis-

[1] The Maryland Diocese consisted of 130 parishes with a membership of approximately 11,000 parishioners. Reports for 1862 were incomplete, while 1860 records indicate a total of 10,500. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States of America, Assembled in a General Convention, held in St. John's Chapel in the City of New York, from October 1st to October 17th, inclusive, in the Year of our Lord 1862* (Boston, 1863), 183-185. (Hereafter cited as *Journal of Proceedings*).

ter in obedience to the word of God, he was bound to support it to his utmost capacity. He further believed that as a minister it was his duty to inculcate that obedience in others as well. Whittingham denied that such activity constituted meddling into political matters, for he believed that the existence of the government itself was at stake and not merely a question of political parties. Therefore, he viewed secession as a defiance of an ordinance of God, and by its very nature it was tantamount to sin.[2]

In the early months of the crisis, the Bishop was afforded an opportunity to express his support on behalf of the civil authorities, and he readily came to the aid of Governor Thomas Hicks of Maryland. In the months following the secession of the lower South much confusion existed in Maryland as to the course she would take in the crisis. Elements sympathetic to the South advocated the immediate calling of a special session of the legislature to deal with the exigencies of the situation, while Unionists opposed such a move. Governor Hicks refused to succumb to pro-Southern pressure and instead issued a plea to the people of Maryland for moderation. On reading the Governor's address, Bishop Whittingham felt compelled to convey to Hicks his approval and endorsement of the message. In his letter Whittingham indicated that since November he had traveled in ten counties and had found agreement with the Governor's policy among the most influential people. He applauded the advocacy of using constitutional means to seek the redress of grievances and expressed his warm admiration of the Governor.[3]

Hicks was pleased with the letter and immediately asked for permission to make it public. The subsequent publication of the correspondence between the two surprised many in the diocese, for previously Bishop Whittingham had carefully avoided all activity which could have been regarded as political. He

[2] William Francis Brand, *Life of William Robinson Whittingham* (New York, 1883), II, 7-8, 15. The Bishop sanctioned all acts, including the arrest of clergymen, taken by Federal authorities to preserve the Union.

[3] Baltimore, *American and Commercial Advertiser,* January 18, 1861. (Hereafter cited as the American). Governor Hicks highly valued the Bishop's letter. In October, 1863 the Governor in a letter to Secretary of War, Edwin B. Stanton, praised the Bishop's continuing support of the government, while later in December Hicks wrote directly to Whittingham to express his gratitude for his support in 1861. Brand, *Life of Whittingham,* II, 1 and 13.

had even refused to exercise his right to vote, and therefore there was much dismay over this action. Much of the reaction was highly critical, although there were those who approved and came to his defense. Those who were critical argued that such action could only damage his reputation and usefulness, while some opposed the letter for fear that the Church would become involved in the controversy over secession. Others argued that Whittingham spoke with no more authority than any other churchman, but they feared that there would be no separation of Whittingham as an individual from his office.[4]

There were those who did agree with the Bishop and believed that he was justified in his actions. The rector of St. James College in Washington County, the Rev. John B. Kerfoot, wrote to the Bishop expressing his support, and in defending him to others, Kerfoot stressed the point that Whittingham had proceeded as an individual and not in his official capacity. At the same time, Kerfoot also maintained that the clergy should abstain from politics. But the question in this case was one of revolution.[5]

Despite the controversy, Whittingham refused to retract the letter. He maintained that he had written it as a private citizen. He also refused to concern himself with the charge that such actions would damage his effectiveness as bishop. He countered by arguing that as a religious leader he was obliged to teach the fulfillment of duty and to maintain peace. Whittingham, therefore, contended that in writing to the Governor, he was acting properly.[6]

The period of calm which followed Lincoln's inauguration ended abruptly in April with the firing upon Fort Sumter. With the rapid growth of the war an uneasy and tense situation developed in Maryland. In Baltimore restlessness quickly reached an explosive stage, and when the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment attempted to pass through the city enroute to Washington on April 19th, rioting erupted against the Federal government, and pro-Southern sentiment engulfed the city. The upsurge of hostility toward the Union posed a serious problem

[4] Hall Harrison, *Life of the Right Reverend John Barnett Kerfoot* (New York, 1886), I, 201-204.
[5] *Ibid.*, 205-207.
[6] Brand, *Life of Whittingham*, II, 13.

for the Episcopal Church in Baltimore. In two of the largest churches services were not held because of fear to use the prayer in the liturgy for the President of the United States, while several others, anticipating the enactment of an ordinance of secession by the Maryland legislature, readied for use a prayer for the President of the Confederacy.[7]

During the rioting Bishop Whittingham was absent from Baltimore on a visitation, but pro-Southern sentiment still dominated the city when he returned a few days later. In considering the situation, the Bishop met with several members of the clergy on April 23rd. At this time he indicated that he was going to issue a private and confidential circular to the clergy of the diocese. In it he proposed that if an ordinance of secession was passed in the forthcoming session of the legislature. he would, by the authority in canon 13, title 1, authorize an alteration in the prayer for those in civil authority by omitting the words, the President of the United States, and substituting a phraseology which merely prayed for those in authority. In justifying the proposed change, he maintained that members of the Church were not only required to pray for those in authority, but that they were also commanded to live in peace and to give offense to no one. Therefore in such an event, he hoped that in this way all in good conscience could continue to unite in their prayers to God.[8]

When the legislature did meet, it affirmed Maryland's loyalty to the Federal government, and the direction to make the alteration was never issued. Yet in a number of churches, local rectors, without the permission of the Bishop, omitted the prayer for the President in order to avoid controversy in their parishes. The practice was soon brought to the attention of the Bishop who strongly disapproved. To cope with the situation, Whittingham issued a circular on May 15, 1861 in which he reminded the clergy of their duty as ministers to use the prayer

[7] *Ibid.*, II, 16 and 19-23. For an excellent account of the rioting in Baltimore on April 19, 1861 see Charles B. Clark, "Baltimore and the Attack on the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment, April 19, 1861," Md. Hist. Mag. LVI (1961), 39-71.

[8] "Letterbook of William Francis Brand: Letterbook of Correspondence of William Francis Brand and Bishop William Robinson Whittingham, 1861-1863" (MS in Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore, Maryland), a note dated April 23, 1861. (Hereafter cited as "Letterbook"); Brand, *Life of Whittingham*, II, 19-23.

in the liturgy. He asserted that by committing such an omission they were mutilating the service and violating their ordination vows, and in his official capacity as Bishop, he warned them that he would enforce the injunctions of the Church against this. In stressing the importance of adhering to prescribed forms of service, Whittingham declared that members of the clergy had no right to impose their private views on their congregations nor to meddle in things which did not concern them. The clergy was reminded that the legislature and Governor had affirmed Maryland's loyalty to the Union, and that therefore they were bound to discharge their duties in compliance with that condition.[9] Despite the Bishop's strong statement, his efforts to enforce it were frustrated by the diocese's Standing Committee, which contained a majority who differed with him on the question of loyalty. The committee ignored his presentations.[10]

Later, in August, Bishop Whittingham reaffirmed the Church's loyalty to the Federal government. In response to Lincoln's proclamation in setting aside a day of national fasting, he issued a pastoral letter in which he set forth the prayers to be used on the occasion. In his instructions he again stressed Maryland's affirmation of loyalty and then went on to insist that in the act of praying for deliverance from "sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion" there could be "no reasonable doubt" as to "our allegiance." The letter was tempered somewhat by the recognition that there were those who through faulty judgment and from other influences honestly erred in their obligations and duties. In this spirit the Bishop expressed hope that all those who were truly concerned with God's will could unite together in prayer. However, at the same time, he also expressed concern over the error which caused many to support those in arms against their government, and he warned them against fostering delusions which stemmed from political and status reasons.[11]

Lincoln's proclamation posed a serious problem for Bishop Whittingham in choosing an appropriate response. He con-

[9] "Letterbook," Circular, May 15, 1861; *American,* May 21, 1861; Baltimore, Sun, May 20, 1861.

[10] Brand, *Life of Whittingham,* II, 23-24.

[11] *American,* August 27, 1861; Annapolis, *Annapolis Gazette,* August 29, 1861; Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record: A Diary of American Events,* II, 528-529.

sidered several possibilities before selecting his course of action. One alternative was to ignore it, but this he rejected. Ignoring it, he believed, would allow the proclamation to go unnoticed in the diocese, and he felt that this in itself would have been a self-condemnation of disloyalty. Yet, he felt that if in recommending the day's observance be framed a strong message calling upon Divine blessing to aid in suppressing and punishing those in rebellion, such a course would have increased dissension in the Church. Another possibility was to provide a service which would be somewhat ambiguous. In rejecting this one, he believed that such a choice would have pleased many, but that it would also have meant a failure in his duty to the government. He felt that it was more open to harmful interpretation. The course that Whittingham finally adopted was an attempt to speak for the people as a whole by explaining his procedure to the diocese. In doing so, he expressed the hope that the service would allow all persons without conscientious hindrances to participate on a common ground in the fulfillment of their obligation to the government.[12]

Despite the Bishop's care in framing the pastoral letter, many objected to it on the grounds that they were being asked to pray for peace through the success of Federal arms. Therefore, many refused to accept it as a religious command but only as a recommendation from the Bishop. In writing to Whittingham on the matter, the Rev. William F. Brand informed him that not a single regular parishioner would be willing to respond to the call. Brand did indicate that there were those who were willing to pray for peace but not in context with what they believed the proclamation to call for.[13] Even among those who admired the Bishop's patriotism and firmness, there were those who questioned his action of calling upon divided congregations to attend a service which had a political significance. They felt that it only created more bitterness and that many of those who did attend did so for reasons other than religious.[14] Consequently, many refused to be bound by the call, and in a num-

[12] Brand, *Life of Whittingham*, II, 41-43.

[13] "Letterbook," Rev. William F. Brand to Bishop William R. Whittingham, August 31, 1861.

[14] Samuel H. Harrison, "Journal, 1861-1862" (MS in the Md. Hist. Soc.), entry of April 13, 1862.

ber of parishes the service was scarcely observed. During the service at the College of St. James, twenty boys, in demonstrating their disapproval, left the chapel when the Rev. John B. Kerfoot read the prayers.[15]

In answer to his critics the Bishop indicated that he would have preferred to remain silent on the crisis, but that in good conscience he could not do so. Instead he continued to stress the argument that the war involved the very existence of civil government and of submission to constituted authority as ordained by God. In continuing his reasoning, he pointed out that the proclamation carried the full weight of Presidential and Congressional authority, and that therefore it commanded the compliance and obedience of all citizens. To those who he felt were involved in sedition and were unwilling to ask for Divine favor on behalf of the nation, he charged that they were beyond the pale. And again in answering the charge of using his office for political purposes, he denied it and refused to accept the validity of the argument.[16]

In response to other Presidential proclamations, the Bishop increasingly stressed the importance of compliance as a religious obligation. He emphasized the clergy's responsibility as ministers of the Church to fulfill that obligation and to render their duty to the state. In enlarging upon this, he argued that since a congregation was incorporated by the state and was given certain legal authority, such as in the case of marriage, the state had a right to expect the Church and its ministers to be loyal to it. Therefore, Whittingham maintained that not only did the government have a right to expect this, but that it also had the right to expect the fulfillment of all canonical duties in return for the Church's existence as a corporation. He also insisted that the clergy owed him obedience in performing those services which he designated. On the question of prayers for Union victories, the Bishop asked rhetorically whether true allegiance could not be rendered to the government without disrupting the Church by exciting the passions of controversy. In this he expressed hope that it could be done.[17]

[15] Harrison, *Life of Kerfoot,* I, 227-228.

[16] "Letterbook," Bishop William R. Whittingham to Rev. William F. Brand, September 2, 1861.

[17] Brand, *Life of Whittingham,* II, 26-28. Many remained unconvinced by the

In the early months of 1862 a furor erupted over a rumor that Bishop Whittingham favored a proposed loyalty oath which would have included ministers. In February a bill requiring certain groups to sign such an oath was introduced in the House of Delegates of the Maryland legislature. Rumor suggested that the Bishop had advised the author to include the clergy as well within the bill. In order to clear up any misunderstanding, Whittingham was asked directly if it were true. In replying the Bishop admitted that on being consulted by the bill's sponsor, he had advised the insertion of such a clause, for he maintained that there was a definite need for such a measure.[18]

From those who believed that such an act would constitute surrendering the liberties of the Church to the state, the admission brought forth a strong protest. In a letter to the Bishop, the Rev. William F. Brand asserted that he would refuse to be a party to this, and he argued that civil law was no more nor less binding on him than any other citizen.[19] Others in the diocese were in agreement with Brand, and a group of seven ministers organized to oppose the Bishop's position. In March the seven met at the home of the Rev. Charles Rankin in Baltimore. In the course of their discussions they adopted the position that under no circumstance would they consent to

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Bishop's logic and continued in their refusal to accept the service. Some rectors solved the dilemma by celebrating it before the regular service. In July, 1863, William F. Brand, in response to the day set aside by the Governor and the President in thanksgiving for Union victories, informed the Bishop that he had not performed the service so as not to disrupt his congregation. Later in 1864 a number of rectors in Baltimore attempted to secure other ministers to conduct the service in their places. "Letterbook," Rev. William F. Brand to Bishop William R. Whittingham, August 21, 1863; Harrison, "Journal," entry of April 13, 1862; *American,* August 8, 1863 and August 3, 1864.

Pro-Southern parishioners demonstrated their sentiments by attending services on those days of thanksgiving which had been set aside by Jefferson Davis for the Confederacy. General John Dix, military commander of the Maryland district, complained to the Secretary of State, William Seward, that those days set aside by Lincoln were hardly observed, while those designated by the Confederacy drew large crowds. He observed that on one such occasion Grace Church in Baltimore overflowed its capacity. Morgan Dix, *Memoirs of John Dix* (New York, 1883), II, 34; *American,* November 18, 1861; Harrison, "Journal," entry of March 1, 1862.

[18] "Letterbook," Bishop William R. Whittingham to Rev. William F. Brand, March 1, 1862.

[19] *Ibid.,* Rev. William F. Brand to Bishop William R. Whittingham, March 3, 1862.

the Church being controlled by the state. To solemnize their protest, they sent the Bishop a memorial in which they protested against such an oath and his part in advising the inclusion of the clergy within the bill. They asserted that such an act was not only unfounded in scripture but wrong in principle as well. In denouncing it as representing state control, the seven went on to deny that there was any authority for such a test as a condition of holding a spiritual office, for they maintained that it would make the clergyman a politician. They also declared that there were many in the ministry who wished to avoid any involvement in the political controversy, and they feared that the bill's passage, associated with Whittingham's support, would harm the diocese by increasing dissension and by weakening the Bishop's influence. The net result, they felt, would alienate many and create schism within the Church.[20]

Whittingham replied by arguing that a minister, by virtue of the privileged position accorded to him by the state, should be subject to an oath. He asserted that it was essential to determine the loyalty of those in influential positions in order to prevent the misuse of their office. The Bishop reasoned that the state had a right of its own to institute such an oath and that the clergy was bound to submit to it. Whittingham maintained that because the Church and state were independent of each other, the government had a right to deal with ministers in the same manner as with any other class of citizens. Rhetorically he asked, if a minister in praying for those in civil authority and in asking for deliverance from "sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion" could deny that such an oath was not the

[20] *Ibid.*, Memorial to Bishop William R. Whittingham, March 7, 1862. The seven who signed the memorial were the Rev. William F. Brand, rector of St. Mary's Church in Harford County; Rev. Meyer Lewin, rector of King and Queen parish, St. Mary's County; Rev. Charles W. Rankin, rector of St. Luke's Church in Baltimore; Rev. W. F. Johnston, City Missionary, Baltimore; Rev. Frederick Gibson, assistant rector of St. John's Church at Huntingdon; Rev. A. P. Stryker, City Missionary, Baltimore; and Rev. A. A. Curtis, assistant rector of St. Luke's Church in Baltimore.

Both Rev. Charles Rankin and Rev. Frederick Gibson were later arrested by military authorities. Rankin was arrested on suspicion of aiding and abetting disloyal persons, but the Union paper, *American and Commercial Advertiser*, asked for his unequivocal release. Gibson was arrested for his management of Chestnut Hill school and released on parole. *American*, September 28, October 13, and November 24, 1863.

doctrine of the Church. The seven were advised to wait calmly until the legislature had made its decision. Finally in closing, he indicated that he had not initiated the proposal for an oath nor its enforcement, but that if it were enacted, he reasserted his belief that ministers should also be included.[21] With the failure of the measure to be enacted by the legislature, the controversy subsided.

Dissension over the war was widespread, and Whittingham himself estimated that two-thirds of the laity and one-fifth of the clergy were in disagreement with him. However, he maintained that it was not from differences on "sacred duties or divine prescriptions" but from secular matters. Whittingham, in accepting the basic premise that as a matter of religious doctrine it was the duty of the Church to support the government, refused to accept the validity of any debate on this. He rejected the argument that this position in itself carried a political significance, and he saw no paradox in asserting that secular matters were not suitable for either the pulpit or pastoral instructions. In issuing instructions to the clergy, he believed that he was fulfilling his duty in attempting to prevent controversy in the Church.[22] Others, however, refused to accept either the Bishop's view of the crisis or the Church's response to it. Consequently, the official position of the Episcopal Church in Maryland, as espoused by Bishop Whittingham, was less than realistic.

Controversy was more sharply in evidence on the parish level, and any real sense of unity on the question of the Civil War was impossible. By 1862 the effects of internal strife had begun to be felt in a number of parishes. In All Saints' Church in Frederick there was considerable difficulty in securing men to serve on the vestry; some resigned, while others refused to serve. Opposition to the rector by pro-Southern members had made him so uncomfortable that he resigned in May.[23]

In Baltimore the Rev. Dr. Arthur C. Coxe, rector of Grace

[21] "Letterbook," Bishop William R. Whittingham to Rev. William F. Brand, March 10, 1862.

[22] Brand, *Life of Whittingham*, II, 19-23.

[23] "Diary by Jacob Englebrecht" (MS on microfilm in the C. Burr Artz Library, Frederick, Maryland—owned by the Frederick County Historical Society, Frederick, Maryland), entry of May 22, 1862; Frederick, *Examiner*, May 28, 1862; Ernest Helfenstein, *History of All Saints' Parish in Frederick County, Maryland* (Frederick, 1932), 99.

Church, became the center of controversy in early 1862. Despite Coxe's well known Union sentiments, the vestry had earlier given him a unanimous vote of confidence, and on the strength of this he had turned down an offer from a parish in Philadelphia. But in January a strong reaction to Coxe erupted over a letter which he had written to a friend in England. The *London Guardian* reprinted a portion of the letter over the signature, a Maryland clergyman, but it was soon attributed to him. Those who were sympathetic to the South demanded his resignation. Coxe at first ignored the furor, but finally in answer to an inquiry from a friend, the Rev. Dr. W. E. Wyatt, he admitted to writing the letter. In reply Coxe expressed surprise at the interpretation placed on it, but he refused to apologize for any statements contained in it. Coxe did, however, express concern over the controversy; he maintained that as a minister it was his purpose to promote peace. The letter, he indicated, had been written to a friend on business, but that it had also included private comments in support of the government against the attacks of the English press. In rebuttal Coxe insisted that even his critics on reading the letter would have to admit that the remarks were made with moderation.[24]

Despite strong pressure Coxe refused to retract in order to pacify some of his parishioners. Also Coxe increasingly became more indifferent to the adverse opinions of those in his parish, and to friends he indicated that his explanation to Wyatt had not been an attempt to conciliate but to clarify his position.[25] Finally in February, the vestry met and reviewed the controversy, and with only one negative vote Coxe was sustained in his position.[26]

The controversy enjoyed only a short respite, for later in April the vestry elections developed into a power struggle between Unionists and pro-Southern elements. The Southern group had hoped to elect a hostile vestry, and thereby bring about the removal of Coxe. Qualifications for voting were sharply debated, and charges of irregularities and misconduct

[24] *Private Correspondence* (A privately printed sheet containing an exchange of letters between the Rev. Dr. A. Cleveland Coxe and the Rev. Dr. W. E. Wyatt), and Harrison, "Journal," entry of January 18, 1862.
[25] Harrison, "Journal," entry of January 24, 1862.
[26] *Ibid.*, entry of February 4, 1862.

were voiced by both groups. The rule, which had long been used to determine voting privileges, was that any person who had contributed $2.00 during the year was also entitled to this right. The rule was liberally interpreted, and many were allowed to participate under its provisions. Even though all the vestrymen who were elected were not Unionists, Southern forces were dealt a defeat, and the new vestry remained in favor of retaining Dr. Coxe.[27]

In 1863 the continued existence of St. James College was threatened by a crisis over the filling of vacancies on its board of trustees. With two vacancies occurring in January and another one in the offing, the Rev. John B. Kerfoot, the school's rector, asked the Bishop to appoint three men who were Southern in sympathy to fill the positions. Despite Kerfoot's pronounced Union sympathies, he had managed to work successfully with the board's pro-Southern membership, and he believed that the three, being friends of the college, would continue this harmonious relationship. The Bishop, however, refused to consent and threatened to withdraw his support from the college. Whittingham asserted that he would rather end his connection with the school than to appoint another disloyal person. Feeling that his conscience had been strained enough by the Southern element, the Bishop declared that he could go no further.[28]

Kerfoot protested and asked the Bishop to reconsider. He asserted that the college could not continue without his support, and in pleading his cause, Kerfoot begged him to avoid a direct clash over the issue. The rector declared that its consequences would mean that the four remaining laymen on the board as well as two-thirds of the student body would leave the school. Adroitly Kerfoot asked the Bishop how he could operate the diocese on such a principle, pointing out

[27] *Ibid.*, entry of April 23, 1862. The Southern group was especially offended at the participation of General John Dix in the election.

Much bitterness continued to exist in Grace Church, and later in June when the Bishop conducted an ordination ceremony, a large number of parishioners boycotted the service. One individual on finding that Whittingham was to conduct the service left the church. Harrison, "Journal," entry of June 15, 1862.

Dr. Arthur Coxe later resigned in the spring of 1863 to accept a position as rector of Calvary Church in New York. He was succeeded by the Rev. John Henry Hobbart. *American*, November 9, 1863.

[28] Harrison, *Life of Kerfoot*, I, 254-256.

that every committee, parish, and even the annual convention itself would present the same difficulty. Kerfoot suggested that the question of loyalty should be excluded from consideration and that the appointments should be based on residency in the immediate vicinity. In support of his argument he maintained that this would insure a quorum at meetings of the trustees. He also suggested that professors should be allowed to serve in this capacity as well. Fortunately, the proposals removed the Bishop's objections, and Whittingham accepted the plan. And more important, the St. James solution not only solved the immediate problem, but it also offered an alternative to a policy which would have deadlocked ecclesiastical matters in the Maryland diocese.[29]

Military authorities were also concerned with the problem of loyalty and were watchful of any anti-government activity in the Church. Intervention into parish affairs came early, and a number of ministers were arrested during the war period. As early as September, 1861, Bishop Whittingham expressed his discomfort over the arrest of a clergyman, but at the same time, he did not disapprove of it.[30] The use of treasonable language brought about the arrest of a rector at Elkton in November,[31] while later in 1863 the Rev. Frederick Gibson, an assistant rector of St. John's church in Huntingdon and principal of the Chestnut Hill school, became involved with military authorities for conducting his school in a disloyal manner. A parent who was interested in registering his son in the school requested information concerning admission policies. Gibson replied that Chestnut Hill was full, but that in any case, since the boy's father was a Unionist and all the students at the school were Southern in sympathy, the boy would not have been admitted anyway. The letter was immediately forwarded to the Secretary of War, Edwin B. Stanton, who in turn ordered General Schenck to arrest Gibson and to close the school. In his own defense, the rector maintained that as a principal he advocated no political principles, but that as a citizen he deplored the war. On the understanding that he would not oppose the government nor allow any of his students to do so, he

[29] *Ibid.*, I, 256-258.
[30] Brand, *Life of Whittingham*, II, 40-41.
[31] *Sun*, November 12, 1861.

was released on parole. Since he had conscientious objections, Gibson was not made to take a loyalty oath, but as a condition of his release, he was required to display a National flag at Chestnut Hill.[32] In another case the Rev. Newton Harrison, while being held in custody, conducted religious services for those imprisoned in Fort McHenry.[33]

Later in February, 1864 the Rev. John M. Todd, rector of the Newburg church, was arrested and released on the understanding that he would conduct his services as prescribed by the Church and the Bishop. He was also warned to comport himself as a good citizen.[34] In the spring the Rev. Dr. Hawks, rector of Christ Church in Baltimore, was ordered by the provost marshal to report to his office. Hawks, however, had left the city, and his assistant, the Rev. W. J. Frost, informed the military authorities of this fact. Frost also indicated that he believed the rector would comply with the request on his return to Baltimore. But for fear that General Lew Wallace would send him beyond Federal lines, Hawks continued to remain away from his parish.[35] In August General Wallace, on learning that pro-Southern members of Saint Timothy's Church were exerting pressure on the Rev. L. Vann Bokkelen to retire from his post, strongly warned the congregation that in case of Vann Bokkelen's retirement, services would not be permitted to continue unless his successor was unquestionably loyal to the government. The General also informed the rector that if he decided to remain in his position, he would have his complete protection. In closing his note Wallace further expressed hope that he would continue in his duties at Saint Timothy's.[36]

Despite underlying differences there was a decided effort in official gatherings of the diocese to avoid all controversy and to maintain a semblance of harmony. The annual convention in 1861, which normally met in Baltimore on the last Wednesday in May, was forced to be postponed because of the effects of the rioting on April 19th.[37] In considering the question of

[32] *American,* September 28 and October 13, 1863.
[33] *Ibid.,* August 3, 1863.
[34] *Ibid.,* February 20, 1864.
[35] *Ibid.,* May 26, 1864.
[36] *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series 1, XXXVII, Part 2, 590.
[37] *American,* May 18, 1861, and *Sun,* May 17, 1861.

calling a special convention in the fall, the Bishop opposed the idea. He unofficially knew that a majority of the Standing Committee was also against it, but he was unsure as to how to proceed. Finally, in acting on the advice of the Rev. John B. Kerfoot, the Bishop requested the members of the committee to give their opinions on the matter in writing so as to protect himself against any possible misrepresentation. The response was as he expected, and as a result there was no convention held in 1861.[38]

In the following year on May 28, 1862 members of the diocese met in Baltimore's Grace Church for the first time since 1860. The proceedings were conspicuously marked by an effort to avoid all controversy. Business was confined strictly to routine matters, the election of a Standing Committee, and the selection of delegates to the national General Convention. Even the Bishop in his opening address avoided all discussion concerning the failure to hold a convention in the previous year. He also waived his privilege of charging the clergy, and in concluding his brief report on the state of the Church, he counseled forbearance during the period of crisis.[39] Some sharpness did erupt over the election of the Standing Committee. Since the committee was crucial to the enforcement of the Bishop's policy, Whittingham was anxious to secure one favorable to his views. Despite his efforts to accomplish this, the Bishop suffered a defeat, and instead a committee which continued to differ with him on the question of loyalty was elected.[40] Then at the end of only three sessions, the convention quickly adjourned in an atmosphere of good feeling.[41]

Following the diocesan meeting in May, the General Convention assembled on October 1, 1862 in St. John's chapel in New York. When the delegates met, there were strong conflicting currents over the Church's relationship to the war. Some delegates wanted to condemn Southern leaders in strong terms for their actions, while others wanted to refrain from any involvement with civil affairs. In the end the Church avoided

[38] Harrison, *Life of Kerfoot*, II, 219-221.
[39] *American*, May 29, 1862, and *Sun*, May 29, 1862. In early 1862 Bishop Whittingham suffered a severe fall which limited his physical activities in the diocese.
[40] Brand, *Life of Whittingham*, II, 30-31.
[41] *American*, May 30, 1862, and *Sun*, May 30, 1862.

the extremes. There was no condemnation of Southern churchmen, but at the same time the convention did adopt a strong affirmation of allegiance to the government.

With the introduction of a series of resolutions by F. R. Brunot of Pennsylvania the question of the war was brought before the House of Delegates. A short debate followed which was temporarily ended by tabling the resolutions. In a move to reconsider them, discussion was quickly revived. Judge Chambers, the most active spokesman for the Maryland delegation, spoke in opposition to any action which would have constituted a meddling into political matters. He objected to the disruption of the Church by such debate, and in continuing, Chambers asserted that he did not think that it was either necessary or proper to ask for the placing of a curse on friends and relatives in the South. Finally the move to reconsider was defeated,[42] and in order to handle further resolutions, a special committee of nine was appointed to consider the matter. All resolutions, including the Brunot ones, were turned over to this group.[43] Yet despite this, debate continued to erupt intermittently with the presentation of additional ones until the final adoption of the committee's report.

Finally on the eighth day, the committee reported its recommendations to the House of Delegates. Attention was called to the difficulty of the question, but at the same time they did not wish to leave any doubt as to the Church's loyalty to the Federal government. Episcopalians were called upon to observe faithfully the articles of religion which required the clergy to pray for those in civil authority. And in dealing with the crisis, the committee indicated the impossibility of ignoring the events which had occurred since the last convention, but in

[42] *Journal of Proceedings,* 31-36; *American,* October 6, 1862.

[43] The Committee of Nine consisted of the Rev. Dr. William Cooper Mead, Connecticut; Rev. E. Y. Higbee, New York; Rev. Dr. W. D. Wilson, Western New York; Rev. Dr. Silias Totten, Iowa; Hon. Washington Hunt, New York; Judge Cunningham, Pennsylvania; General Charles Goodard, Ohio. *American,* October 8, 1962.

The basis of the selection of the committee was challenged, for it was charged that only one side of the question was represented. It was moved that each diocese should be represented on the committee. In answer to the charge, the president of the convention indicated that he had desired to have the largest portion of the Church represented by those who had not introduced resolutions on the subject. Finally the matter was declared out of order and dropped. *American,* October 9. 1862.

taking note of them, the matter was approached in the spirit of Christian forbearance. Therefore, there was no wish expressed either to condemn or to reproach those in arms against the government, but at the same time the resolutions did assert that a serious wrong had been inflicted upon the country as well as the Christian community. Churchmen were called upon to fulfill their duty as citizens to sustain and to defend their country, although as deputies of the Church, which renounced all political associations, they were at liberty to pledge only their prayers to the government for the successful restoration of the Union.[44]

The Maryland delegation opposed the adoption of the report, and its position was reflected in the substitutes offered by the Rev. Dr. S. C. Thrall and the Rev. F. M. McAllister. Both substitutes argued that loyalty to the government was already affirmed in the articles of faith and that it was not necessary to go beyond this. They also maintained that the crisis was political, and that therefore such resolutions were foreign to the deliberations of the General Convention. The Thrall Proposal suggested that the Church should refrain from passing judgment on the South.[45] After their defeat and passage of the committee's report, Judge Chambers proceeded to present a paper in protest to the action. Chambers continued to hold that the question was secular and therefore should be excluded from consideration. The House, however, refused to accept the paper.[46]

In the meantime the House of Bishops was concerned with the framing of the official Pastoral Letter to the Church. As the Presiding Bishop, *pro tem,* Bishop John Henry Hopkins had prepared a draft in which no reference to the war was made. Several bishops, including Whittingham, felt that this was not reflective of the Church, and proceeded to set it aside for one written by Bishop Charles Pettit McIlvaine of Ohio. The substitute reflected more accurately the spirit of the General Convention, but equally important, there was no acknowledgment of schism within the Church but merely a declaration

[44] *Journal of Proceedings,* 51-53.
[45] *Ibid.,* 86-94.
[46] *American,* October 26, 1862; Brand, *Life of Whittingham,* II, 33-34. The Rev. William F. Brand believed that the Chambers paper represented the majority opinion in Maryland.

that the Southern delegates "were only temporarily absent." [47]

In the following two years diocesan conventions continued to be marked by their harmony. Sessions were short, and few speeches were made.[48] However, by 1865, the estrangement between the Bishop and many in the diocese had become pronounced. Prior to the meeting in May the Bishop in a circular letter informed the diocese that he was going to ask for an adjournment of the convention until September 27th. By doing so, he indicated that he hoped to avoid any inconveniences in having the convention meet on the same day which had been set aside by President Andrew Johnson as a day of humiliation in memory of Lincoln. When the diocese did assemble in May, attendance was very poor with approximately fifty members of the laity and clergy present. But before a move for adjournment could be considered, a point of order was raised over the question that no business could be conducted until a secretary was elected. Whittingham over-ruled it on the grounds that such an election would be unfair to those who had stayed away on his suggestion, and then on his own motion the Bishop put his proposal before the body. Much to his surprise the motion was rejected twenty-three to twenty-two. Angered, the Bishop left the convention. With the chair vacant confusion prevailed, and there followed several attempts to nominate a pro tempore chairman. All declined to accept the position, and finally the president of the Standing Committee acted temporarily in this capacity. Then members of the convention proceeded defiantly to vote for an adjournment until September 13th instead of the date proposed by the Bishop.[49] When the convention reassembled in September, no mention was made of the proceedings in May, but the gulf between the Bishop and his diocese had widened even further.

Out of the turmoil of controversy the Maryland Diocese emerged intact in spite of the strong crosscurrents of dissension.

[47] James Thayer Addison, *The Episcopal Church in the United States 1789-1931* (New York, 1951), 198; Brand, *Life of Whittingham,* II, 32-33. Reaction to the Pastoral Letter varied in the Maryland Diocese. Some rectors read it with the approval of their congregations, while others only read portions of it. In some parishes it was ignored. In the case of one Baltimore church, a number of parishioners to symbolize their dissent left the church as it was being read. *American,* November 3, 1862.

[48] *American,* May 28-29, 1863, and May 26, 1864.

[49] *American,* June 1, 1865; Brand, *Life of Whittingham,* II, 37-38.

A number of factors helped to preserve its unity during the crisis. Denominational loyalty and abhorrence to schism were strong underlying and restraining influences, but most important was the balance of power between Bishop Whittingham and those who opposed his policies. Although the Bishop attempted to exert strong leadership in support of the Federal government, the Standing Committee nullified any efforts to enforce this policy. Equally significant was the effort to keep direct confrontations at a minimum, and official harmony in diocesan conventions was preserved by avoiding controversial issues. Yet in spite of the Bishop's inability to exert effective control over the diocese, no other religious leader in Maryland contributed more to the support of the Union than Bishop William Robinson Whittingham.

SIDELIGHTS

A NOTE ON THE MARYLAND LAND HOLDINGS OF ROBERT MORRIS

By James F. Vivian

Most of what is known of Robert Morris' business career in the 1790's, when he turned his talents to land speculation on a grand scale, comes to us from personal accounts which concentrate on his acquisitions involving hundreds of thousands of acres. Elsewhere, in those states not distinguished by such large transactions, the record has been left to be pieced together from scattered sources. Maryland is one of these states, even though Morris enjoyed special ties to it. Aside from its nearness to his Philadelphia headquarters, Maryland had been his first permanent port of call upon emigrating from England, as well as his father's adopted home. Maryland, moreover, was the family home of his wife, whose nearest relatives continued their residence there, whose personal inheritance included sizeable acreages within the state, and whose social prominence during the Washington administrations lent credence to talk of "the second lady of the land."

The outlines of Morris' life are well know, and it has been the subject of innumerable sketches,[1] one specialized study,[2] and two full-length biographies.[3] In 1747, at the age of thirteen, Morris arrived at the important marketing and tobacco exporting post of Oxford, Talbot County, Maryland, where his father was a purchasing agent for a leading British firm. His career began soon thereafter with an apprenticeship in the counting-room of Charles Willing's mercantile house in Philadelphia. It ended with his death in 1806, broken in health and impoverished in resources, only five years after his release from the "Prune Street" debtor's prison in the

[1] The best of these is that in Dumas Malone, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography* (11 vols., New York, 1927-1944), VII, 219-223.

[2] Clarence L. Ver Steeg, *Robert Morris, Revolutionary Financier* (Philadelphia, 1954), deals only cursorily with Morris' career after his resignation as Superintendent of Finance in November, 1784.

[3] Ellis P. Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris, Patriot and Financier* (New York, 1903); William G. Sumner, *The Financier and Finances of the American Revolution* (2 vols., New York, 1891), the condensed version of which appeared as *Robert Morris* (New York, 1892).

city which had earlier been the capital of his vast business empire. The intervening half-century had witnessed Morris' accumulation of incomparable wealth, his appointment to the Continental Congress where he served on the all-important Committee of Secret Correspondence, his designation as Superintendent of Finance during the darkest hours of the War for Independence, his participation in the Constitutional Convention, and his election as one of Pennsylvania's first United States Senators. Called the "Great Man" by his contemporaries, Morris probably wielded more economic and political power in the peak years of his career, through his manifold and complex interests and investments, than could any simple combination of his peers. For J. P. Morgan to have duplicated this position in the early 1790's, says Forrest McDonald, he would have had to be, in addition to all else, the Secretary of the Treasury and the chief of Tammany Hall.[4]

Argument by analogy, of course, is too often more evasive than valid; it slights more history than it encompasses. Yet where Morris is concerned, in contrast to the tortuous, subtle business techniques employed and in good measure perfected by Morgan, it is far easier to reckon the resources of the famous "Financier of the Revolution." It is generally agreed, for instance, that Morris at his wealthiest, probably betwen 1787 and 1790, when he refused President Washington's offer to become the first treasury secretary under the new government, directly or indirectly controlled property valued in excess of two million dollars. Morris owned very little land before 1787, so that the better part of his investments were concentrated in commerce and shipping. During the following decade, however, he gradually disassociated himself from earlier enterprises in order to devote more and more of his efforts and resources to land speculation. Ultimately, by 1798, his unflinching faith in the future of the country and the overextension of his immense credit would conspire to bankrupt him, but, it must be emphasized, not before his huge transactions also had carried him to unparalleled heights, positive and negative, in personal prestige and renown.[5] Besides the 7,234 lots in Washington, D.C., "Morris and his partners," according to a pamphlet which passed for a prospectus in 1795, alone "owned 932,621 acres in Virginia . . . 717,249 acres in North Carolina, 957,238 acres in South Carolina, 2,314,796 acres

[4] *We The People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1958), 54-57.

[5] See, for example, Fisher Ames's comment about Morris, in Ames to Alexander Hamilton, July 31, 1791, in Harold C. Syrett, ed., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* (9 vols. to date, New York, 1961-1965), VIII, 589-590.

in Georgia, and 431,045 acres in Kentucky." Nor does this listing include his handsomely profitable ventures in New York and Pennsylvania.[6]

Given this economic reality of the times, and the implied influence which undoubtedly accompanied it, perhaps it might be useful to know what were Robert Morris' land holdings in Maryland.

An examination of the appropriate land records reveals that, of the nineteen Maryland counties in existence as of the mid-1790's, Morris never owned any lands or lots in sixteen of them. Curiously, this includes the two counties of the state immediately adjacent to the District of Columbia, in whose growth and development he evinced a lively interest. The three counties in which Morris did come to own lands were Baltimore, Cecil, and Harford, and in each instance the circumstances surrounding their acquisition and eventual disposition were markedly different from the others.

Of these three, Morris' smallest holdings were to be found in Baltimore County: three Baltimore town lots and a tract of 640 acres known as "Gay's Enlargement," located at the head of Back River along the old Post Road leading to Philadelphia. The latter property was actually a part of the inheritance of Morris' wife, Mary.[7] It was sold for £2,750 in September, 1793, to George Gale who, a month later, mortgaged it to the Morrises again for slighty more than £1,833. Gale eventually cleared the encumbrance in February of 1795.[8]

Of the three city lots, two of them passed to Morris in July, 1784, in lieu of a £1,198 debt owed him by two local merchants and civil leaders, Robert and Samuel Purviance. Although the debt was to be paid in full by January, 1786, Morris apparently agreed to an extension, for it was not cleared until Christmas, 1788, by which time the interest charges had raised the total amount to £1,500.[9] Like the other two, the third lot, located on Hanover Street not far from

[6] Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris, Patriot and Finacier,* 308, 312-313.

[7] Harford County Will Book (Harford County Courthouse, Bel Air, Maryland), Liber A. J. R., No. R., folio 167ff. Mary Morris was the daughter of Thomas White, of colonial Baltimore County, by his second marriage. White died in September, 1779, one of the principal landowners of Harford County, owning upwards of 7,770 acres. "Gay's Enlargement" originally was to be the inheritance of Mary's half-sister Sarah, but as she died before her father, some special provisions of the will went into effect whereby the tract passed to Mary. See also Walter W. Preston, *History of Harford County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1901), 202-205; C. H. Hart, "Mary White—Mrs. Robert Morris," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* II (1878), 157-184.

[8] Baltimore County Land Records (Hall of Records, Annapolis, Maryland), Liber W. G., No. M. M., folios 136 and 202; Liber W. G., No. Q. Q., folio 229.

[9] *Ibid.,* Liber W. G., No. T., folio 553; Liber W. G., No. C. C., folio 640.

Light Street, passed to Morris in December, 1787, for the failure of Elisha Tyson to meet a personal obligation of £1,400. Once again, however, Morris did not press the matter, so that even though the deadline was set initially for September, 1788, Tyson was allowed to recover himself as late as July, 1791.[10] It would appear that Morris not only had little interest in acquiring Baltimore County lands, but that he was prone to sacrifice accepted business practices in order to forestall his having to expend time and effort better spent elsewhere.

Although he never owned any land in Cecil County before 1790, Morris acquired a total of 1,175 acres there in the ensuing seven years. This accumulation began on January 1, 1790, when he purchased 420 acres straddling New Castle County, Delaware, Chester County, Pennsylvania, and Cecil County, Maryland, for £426 1/2 Pennsylvania money.[11] Thereupon followed a hiatus in his Cecil County ventures until 1796. On March 1 of that year Thomas Sharp sold him, for £1,870 1/2 Pennsylvania money, 250 acres of a tract known as "Society."[12] Morris bought an additional 100 acres of the same tract from Levi Tyson on March 31 for £420 Maryland money[13] and, on the same day, purchased 25 acres from John Evans for £225.[14]

A year later, on April 15, 1797, Morris enlarged both of these holdings when Clement Biddle sold him 100 acres more of "Society" for £420 Maryland money[15] and 25 acres adjacent to the old Evans property, at a cost of £225.[16] The 265 acres which constituted "Hail Hill," "Snow Hill," and the subsequently-surveyed additions to each were obtained from William Mackey on April 4, 1796, for £808 "lawfull Money of America."[17]

It cannot readily be ascertained if any of these blocs of property were within close proximity of one another, but it is difficult to escape that conclusion. Whatever the case, two aspects stand out in Morris' Cecil County ventures: he purchased 1,175 acres at a total cost of over £4,374, which means an average of slightly more

[10] *Ibid.*, Liber W. G., No. B. B., folio 77; Liber W. G., No. F. F., folio 200; Liber W. G., No. G. G., folio 218. Tyson became a prominent flour mill owner and operator by 1798. "State of Maryland in 1798," *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXI (September, 1936), 251-252.

[11] Cecil County Land Records (Cecil County Courthouse, Elkton, Maryland), Liber B. W. 2, Vol. 16, folio 521.

[12] *Ibid.*, Liber J. B. 3, Vol. 19. folio 427.

[13] *Ibid.*, Liber J. B. 3, Vol. 19, folio 429.

[14] *Ibid.*, Liber J. B. 3, Vol. 19, folio 432.

[15] *Ibid.*, Liber J. B. 4, Vol. 20, folio 230.

[16] *Ibid.*, Liber J. B. 4, Vol. 20, folio 234.

[17] *Ibid.*, Liber J. B. 3, Vol. 19, folio 434.

than £3:10 per acre;[18] and, not only did he acquire these holdings *after* financial difficulties began to engulf him, but there is no record that he was ever able to dispose of any of them at his own volition.

In Harford County, the Morris holdings came to include two tracts of land, together totaling 1,352 acres. One of these tracts he purchased at an unstated price from Governor William Paca sometime during 1783. Its 713 acres contained "Swan Harbor" and "Paca's Bit," located at Swan Harbor on the mainland immediately north of Spesutia Island. In October, 1788, Morris sold 108.5 acres of the tract to William Smith for £922.[19] Thomas Sim Lee, twice governor of Maryland, purchased the remaining 604.5 acres, which apparently included most of "Paca's Bit," in December of 1796 at a price of £4,354 1/2.[20]

The second tract, called "Leigh of Leighton," contained 639 acres along Deer Creek and had been one of the many domains of Thomas White. Upon his death the acreage passed to Mary Morris as part of her direct inheritance.[21] In March, 1785, unequal portions of it were leased to two yeoman farmers, in each instance under terms of £50 "Maryland money in goald or silver" per annum for ten years.[22] In December, 1794, just prior to the expiration of these contracts, the Morrises sold the property for £3,200 to Henry Dorsey, a leading citizen and land owner of the county.[23] Of Morris' ventures in three Maryland counties, his experience in Harford County was the most profitable.

Clearly, Morris was not much attracted to Maryland lands, probably because the days of acquiring large areas of uncultivated frontier in the state had long since passed, with the exception of the unpromising mountainous west. Only in Cecil County can it

[18] Collected information on land prices in Maryland during the early national period is virtually non-existent. My own research, particularly in Cecil and Harford County transactions, suggests that eighteen shillings per acre for cleared or partially-cleared farm land might have been a reasonable rate at the time. According to Jackson T. Main, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton, 1965), 45, 154n, 159, unimproved farm lands in South Carolina and Virginia went for £1 or £2 per acre in the mid-1780's, while the rough rate of exchange during the latter years of the decade was £209 equal $1,000.

[19] Harford County Land Records (Harford County Courthouse, Bel Air, Maryland), Liber J. L. G., No. H., folio 386.

[20] *Ibid.*, Liber J. L. G., No. N., folios 184 and 381.

[21] Harford County Will Book, Liber A. J. R., No. R., folio 167ff. In addition to "Leigh of Leighton," whose value White estimated at £1,592 in 1777, Mary's personal share of the will included £5,000 in cash.

[22] Harford County Land Records, Liber J. L. G., No. F., folios 270 and 273.

[23] *Ibid.*, Liber J. L. G., No. L., folios 162 and 509. According to Oberholtzer, *Robert Morris, Patriot and Financier*, 355, Mary's inheritance, "at her expressed wish . . . went the way of her husband's in the effort to stay the advances of his ravenous creditors."

be said that he was engaged in anything approaching pure speculation, but even here most likely it was speculation more with a view toward realizing profits in the expanding regions of Philadelphia and southern Pennsylvania[24] than prolonging losses on the remote and undeveloped frontier. Indeed, Morris generally seems to have been sufficiently disinclined to take an interest in Maryland properties, being somewhat hesitant in shouldering too squarely the responsibilities he did come by, not a few of which fell to him indirectly. Yet almost all of his largest transactions, few in number though they were, either were subscribed, notarized, witnessed, or authenticated by such men as Samuel Chase, Tench and Edward Tilghman, and Luther Martin, not to mention the several personalities of lesser but nonetheless local importance. If Robert Morris' vaunted economic and political influence and power in the early 1790's extended also to Maryland, it did so through other avenues than those of vested land interests.

[24] The population of Philadelphia in 1800, although still only 70,000, made the city the second largest in the English-speaking world. Baltimore had just attained 13,000. Russel B. Nye, *The Cultural Life of the New Nation, 1776-1830* (New York, 1960), 124.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The County Courthouses and Records of Maryland. Part Two: The Records. By MORRIS L. RADOFF, GUST SKORDAS, AND PHEBE R. JACOBSEN. Publication No. 13: Hall of Records Commission. Annapolis, 1963. x, 198. $5.00

In this handsome volume, companion to the one describing the county courthouses published in 1960, are found lists of vital records in each of Maryland's 23 counties and Baltimore city. A scholarly introduction by Gust Skordas outlines the history of county government in Maryland; the roles and authority of various county offices and courts; and a description of basic county records. There follows a listing of the counties and Baltimore city in alphabetical order with detailed listings of the various files (court, wills, marriages, land, arbitrations, petitions, inventories, etc., etc.) together with notations concerning the years covered, the location of the originals and microfilm copies, and the presence of indexes, maps, plats, and the like. The volume itself is indexed, and it is illustrated with a number of photographs, maps, and views not readily obtainable, if at all, in published form.

The volume is certainly a must for every personal and institutional library that aspires to completeness in basic, significant volumes. It must have cost the compilers much tedious and exasperating labor. The Hall of Records has notched another mark in its record of service to the State, for which congratulations are very much in order.

FRED SHELLEY

National Historical Publications Commission

The King's Friends: The Composition and Motives of the American Loyalist Claimants. By WALLACE BROWN. Providence, Rhode Island: Brown University Press, 1965. 411. $7.

In his preface, Professor Brown announces that his volume, probably a development of a doctoral dissertation, "aims somewhat at what John Adams had in mind" when he wrote to a friend in 1815 to the effect that the Tories were motivated principally by greed and bribery. "Where is the historian who can and will travel through

the United States," Adams continued, "and investigate all the similar intrigues in each of them for the same purpose? Yet without this, the real history of the United States, and especially of their revolution, never can be written." Thus Brown asserts that his study primarily "seeks to answer two simple questions: who were the Loyalists and why were they loyal?"

But instead of answering those questions, the author concentrates his research on the 2,908 Loyalists who submitted claims for losses to the British authorities. By so doing he deals with only about 3 per cent of those Americans who remained loyal to Great Britain during the Revolution. Futhermore, that small percentage could scarcely be considered a true or representative sampling, for the claimants were principally from the wealthy and cultured element of the urban Atlantic seaboard. Nor does Brown devote much time to the answer of why even this small percentage remained loyal.

This reviewer is left with the impression that the author spent considerable time developing a punch-card system for computerizing his data, time that could have been used more profitably in gleaning information from his excellent bibliography.

As to format, the author has divided the claimants into a number of categories: national origin, American state of residence, occupation, wealth, and religion. Concerning Maryland, Professor Brown analyzed 82 claimants. Most of them (56) had been born in Europe, mainly in the British Isles, and most of them had come to America since 1764. The occupations of 78 were known: 11 were farmers and landowners; 16 were merchants and shopkeepers; 10 were artisans and craftsmen; 2 were innkeepers; 9 were Anglican ministers; 5 were doctors; 4 were lawyers; one was a schoolmaster; and 15 were office-holders. Twenty-four claimants had served in either the British armed forces or the provincial corps, two-thirds of them being officers; seven more aided the British in some official way. Five of them were killed or wounded, and fifteen others were captured. Most of the claimants sought more than £1,000 (eleven asked for more than £10,000). Of their geographic location in Maryland, Annapolis, Baltimore and its suburbs, and Frederick County were the residences of the majority.

In addition to the excellent bibliography, this volume will be of value to other researchers in this increasingly popular field because of the numerous statistical tables and the very good maps of the thirteen states. It is hoped, however, that eventually someone will write a definitive work on the Loyalists.

O. T. Barck, Jr.

Syracuse University

1787: The Grand Convention. By CLINTON ROSSITER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1966. 443. $7.95.

The Ordeal of the Constitution: The Antifederalists and the Ratification Struggle of 1787-1788. By ROBERT ALLEN RUTLAND. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966. xiii, 329. $6.95.

Scholars in search of hitherto unknown information or original theses will find these complementary volumes on the creation and ratification of the Constitution largely disappointing; intelligent lay readers and students who are looking for balanced and well-written accounts that, by and large, represent the current consensus among historians about the nature and meaning of the struggle over the Constitution will, on the other hand, find them richly rewarding.

The Rossiter book is probably the best single-volume account of the Constitution now available. Written largely from the point of view of the men who wrote and promoted that document, it analyzes the conditions that led to and shaped the convention at Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, describes the political ideas, career backgrounds, and individual personal characteristics of the delegates, narrates in detail the proceedings of the convention, and concludes with a general discussion of the ratification struggle, the first years of the Constitution, and the last years of the Framers. Like most recent historians who have written on the subject, Rossiter rejects the older conception of the Constitution as a counterrevolutionary instrument designed to subvert the democratic principles of the Revolution and emphasizes the extent to which it was at once the product of democratic political procedures and a "faithful reflection" of the ideals of the Revolution. At no point, he insists, did the Founders show any disposition to break out of the constraints imposed upon them by those ideals. What drove them to Philadelphia, in fact, and what was ultimately behind the movement for a stronger central government, were the frightening possibilities that those ideals might be lost in the confusion and instability that seemed to them to be inherent in the Confederation system and that, for want of a proper government, the "vast potential of the American people might never be realized" and the Revolution itself never completed. "Engaged in a quest for nationhood," they saw that "quest as both a fulfilment of the Revolution and a promise of future glory" and believed that "the creation of an effective, republican national government" was the necessary next step in the quest. To insure the success of that quest, Rossiter argues, they consistently rose above their own selfish interests and, in the struggle for ratification, displayed a remarkable mastery of the techniques

of democratic politics by outmaneuvering their opponents in every crucial battle and persuading "majorities of delegates in eleven states that they," rather than their opponents, "were the true friends of the Revolution." "The Constitution," then, Rossiter concludes, "was indeed the Revolution brought to fruition." Most students of the Revolution will accept this reading of the Constitution without serious reservations. Although some of them may be offended by the author's reverential and at times almost filiopietistic portrait of the Framers, most of them will also share his admiration for their achievement.

To understand something of the men who stood in opposition to the Constitution—a subject that Rossiter treats only cursorily—one can profitably turn to the Rutland volume. Essentially a straightforward narrative written from the perspective of the Antifederalists, it is the most comprehensive modern account of the conflict over ratification. Its most useful contributions are in showing in vivid detail how disorganized, disparate, and ineffectual the Antifederalist opposition was, how deeply its leading figures feared the new Constitution, and what were on the surface, the nature of their fears. In addition, it serves as a useful supplement to Rossiter's account by reminding us that, however accurate recent scholars may be in insisting that the Constitution was a true reflection of the principles of 1776, there was a considerable number of important American leaders who were thoroughly convinced that it was not. That this disagreement was nowhere nearly so deep as many earlier historians had suggested, however, would seem to be revealed by the fact that, as Rutland indicates, the addition of a Bill of Rights quickly and effectively quieted the apprehensions of most Anti-Federalists and put an end to their opposition to the new government.

JACK P. GREENE

The Johns Hopkins University

The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763. "Histories of the American Frontier" series, ed. Ray Allen Billington. By DOUGLAS EDWARD LEACH. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966. xviii, 266. $5.75.

To write a book in a series of this sort is a difficult task. The author has a grave responsibility to present a careful and almost unavoidably routine chronicle of the facts for the benefit of student and novice but also faces the challenge of presenting a sophisticated interpretation for his exacting audience of fellow scholars. Douglas

Edward Leach of Vanderbilt University (already the author of *Flintlock and Tomahawk,* an outstanding study of King Philip's War) has succeeded admirably on both counts in the book under review.

For those interested primarily in the facts there are thorough, authoritative, and readable treatments of such topics as the first settlements, pioneer life, the fur trade, wars with the French and Indians, land speculation, frontier expansion, and frontier religion. The topical treatment is done so skillfully that a quite complete narrative of the whole period emerges. The dividend to the reader is great, since this is indeed "the first connected history of the northern colonial frontier to appear in print."

At the interpretive level, Leach's analysis reveals that most of the classic problems of the American frontier (the Indian, land speculation, extreme individualism, the exploitation of natural resources and cultural decline) were present in the 17th-century, and, what is even more intriguing, practical solutions for *all* of these problems were provided but, unhappily, eventually dropped.

An ideal yet eminently workable model for American frontier advance was formulated and applied by Massachusetts in the 17th-century. In the very first generation the Bay Colonists grasped the essentials for pioneering: realism (the wilderness was neither paradise nor hell but in between), advance planning (especially to provide enough supplies for the crucial first year), good organization and discipline, motivation (in this case religious) strong enough to overcome rough going, a blend of individualism and group effort, the friendship of the Indians, and the willingness to modify habitual practices.

Most of these essentials were achieved primarily through a settlement policy that, Leach shows, had its main impact against land monopolization and for maintaining cultural and community values. The policy of requiring the establishment of a church and minister was proof against the disordering forces of frontier life and the tendency to cultural decline. By stipulating that each colonized tract be compactly settled by a specified number of families within a three-year period, Massachusetts made sure that the settlers would gain land "roughly proportional to their ability to make constructive use of it" and thus thwarted land speculators. Had this dual policy of maintaining community and cultural controls and prohibiting land speculation been continued on across the country, the course of American frontier history would have been different. But "the gradual erosion of the entire power structure through which the Puritan oligarchy had exercised its control" doomed the Massachu-

setts prototype of frontier expansion. New leaders oriented toward business, commerce, and land speculation took over in the late 17th-century.

All through the book Leach is haunted by the problem of Indian relations whose disastrous course in American history was set in the colonial period, and even here a satisfactory solution was possible. In sympathy with the ethnohistorical approach to Indian studies, Leach holds that each side—white and Indian—had full shares of guilt and innocence. He resolutely refuses to absolve the Indian but believes that things might have really been different if Indian relations could have been put on the humane basis developed by Roger Williams, William Penn, and David Brainerd who enjoyed practical success in their dealings with Indians. Tragically, the "genuine love and charity for the Indian" which prevailed in the hearts of these three "unusual Christians" was absent in the great majority of the colonists.

The maps, illustrations, and bibliographical essay are all excellent. This book covers only the colonies north of the Mason-Dixon line, but presumably Maryland will be given prominent treatment in a forthcoming companion volume: *The Southern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763.*

RICHARD MAXWELL BROWN

Rutgers—The State University

The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution. BY H. TREVOR COLBOURN. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., 1965. viii, 247. $7.50.

"What do we mean", John Adams used to ask, " by the revolution? the war?". In reply to his own question he would state that the revolution and the war were not the same thing, that "the real American Revolution" was the "radical change in the principles, opinions, sentiments and affections of the people." Much has been written on the factors leading to the Revolution, particularly the political and economic factors. The political philosophy of the founding fathers has likewise been well explored. But the historical justification for American independence put forth by the revolutionary leaders has not been given the consideration it deserves; it is to that task that the author of this volume addresses himself.

The men of the revolutionary era, both English and American, had a remarkable interest in history, especially ancient and modern

English history. Historical works lined the shelves of colonial booksellers shops, literary societies, college and private libraries. Dr. Colbourn has investigated the contents of many book collections and he devotes an appendix to listing their chief historical works. More important, he has made a thorough study of the reactions of some of the leading revolutionary leaders to the history they had read. While this was a painstaking project, it was not an overpowering one, for the men of the eighteenth century were seldom diffident in putting into the record just what they thought.

The English historians who had the greatest influence on the colonials were of the so-called Whig school. This group, which was in existence before there ever was a Whig Party, emphasized the great antiquity of Parliament, saying that it existed in Saxon times in the Witenagemot. That body, they said, represented all the Saxon freemen. Scholars today know that this is not true. Nevertheless, Whig historians had a great influence on the American leaders, particularly Thomas Jefferson, who put great emphasis on the need for a return to the good old Democratic Anglo-Saxon customs. Among the Whig writers who were most widely read by the Americans were the Frenchman, Paul Rapin, who wrote a five volume history of England, Catherine Macaulay, who also wrote a history of England in five volumes, James Burgh and Algernon Sidney.

From these English historians the colonials learned that the Roman Empire fell after it became rich and corrupt and because the inhabitants had lost their virtue. The empire fell before the Goths, whose virtue had remained intact. The Americans liked to compare themselves to the Goths and the English to the decadent Romans.

Even more interesting to the colonials than ancient history was the history of England from the time of the Stuarts. To the American way of thinking, the Stuarts were "bad guys," while the Tudors (except for Henry VII, who had established a standing army) were "good guys." All Whig historians and all American revolutionaries believed that the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had been a blessing. The only trouble was that its good effects had been quickly negated by the unconstitutional actions of both sovereign kings and members of Parliament. Some colonial leaders envisioned the American Revolution another Glorious Revolution.

Dr. Colbourn traces the impact of the Whig writers on such colonial leaders as John Adams, John Dickinson, James Wilson, Benjamin Franklin, Daniel Dulany the elder and the younger, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Richard Bland, George Mason, George Washington, and Thomas Jefferson. He writes in a style that is

crystal clear; reading this book is a sheer delight. The expert, as well as the reader who has but a passing acquaintance with American colonial history, can read this volume with profit.

LEO P. BROPHY

Biscayne College, Miami, Florida

Toward Lexington: The Role of the British Army in the Coming of the American Revolution. By JOHN SHY. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965. Maps, abbreviations, note on sources, and index. x, 463. $8.50.

The role of the British Army in the coming of the American Revolution is a manifestly intriguing subject, and one which has not been studied in a single, systematic work. Professor Shy's book has much to commend it, yet it appears likely that it will not make quite the impact that it should.

Professor Shy first takes a preliminary look at the army and military policy before 1760, and examines the decision of 1763 to leave a peacetime force in North America. The remainder of his book is a study of the British Army and Whitehall policy to 1775. Virtually all important aspects of these subjects are examined: the political pressures and shifts in policy at home; the American problems which dictated that an army should be stationed in the colonies; the difficulties of recruitment, morale, finance, communication, quartering and provisioning; and the role of the army in colonial politics and society. Naturally, the originality of the author's reflections upon these subjects varies somewhat. In some cases, he depends heavily upon earlier studies such as Sosin's *Whitehall and the Wilderness;* in others, he makes suggestive interpretations of his own. Throughout he exhibits an acquaintance with the pertinent English sources.

The usefulness of Professor Shy's study is sometimes lost sight of because of the author's structuring of his argument. The work demands of its readers a studied attentiveness which a more careful composition would have made unnecessary. To find the author's generalizations, one often needs a fine-toothed comb, and then he may not be sure that he has the author's precise meaning.

Certain conclusions are more or less clear. Shy believes that the security of the territories acquired in 1763, imperial policing of Indian affairs, and a measure of control over the older continental colonies all played a part in the decision of 1763. As early as this, some English officials conceived of the army as a force in controlling smuggling and even bringing the seaboard colonies into a proper

state of constitutional dependence. Yet not until the Stamp Act, did most civil and military officials think very explicitly of the army as a police force in the older colonies. By 1768 there was strong evidence that the army had failed in its mission of regulating the fur trade and keeping frontiersmen off Indian lands. Some of the difficulties stemmed from politics at home, some from the way in which the army was financed, recruited and officered; such problems, for that part of the British Army which served in North America, were compounded by poor communications and delicate civilian-military relationships.

Professor Shy says he has not intended a full study of American attitudes towards the British Army in the colonies. Yet he writes so much about these attitudes that it seems fair to evaluate his book in this respect. He concludes that, towards the army, the colonists felt "as much sympathy as hostility" and argues that there was general harmony in their relations. Many historians will question these conclusions, and Shy's investigation of the evidence is too spotty to justify affording his conclusions much credence. Only the *Virginia Gazette* is used extensively, with little examination of colonial legislative records, political pamphlets, sermon literature, or personal writings. In two instances, the *Journal of the Times* and depositions taken from British soldiers after the Boston Massacre, sources are used rather uncritically. Professor Shy emphasizes the good relations of the colonists and the army enough to make one wonder what role the British Army did play in the coming of the Revolution.

Still most of *Toward Lexington* is concerned with the British side of things, and Professor Shy has given us a thorough, reliable treatment of this. Revolutionary War buffs and specialists will find it useful.

JOHN CARY

Lehigh University

The C. S. S. FLORIDA. Her Building and Operations. By FRANK LAWRENCE OWSLEY, JR. 208 pp. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, $6.00.

The excitements and heroics of the War Between the States were not confined to the happenings on land. This is a tale, documented with loving care, of derring-do on the high seas, and the robust account of a Confederate commerce raider should thrill both the Navy buff and the passionate Southern partisan. Owsley took his master's and doctor's degree at the University of Alabama and taught history at the Naval Academy and the University of Mary-

land (he now teaches at Auburn) before pursuing the writing and research which led to this volume and numerous magazine articles. His Civil War studies have been notable, and his treatment of the colorful career of the *Florida* resulted from exhaustive examination of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies* (he later turned up the missing sections of her log), the correspondence section of the Navy Department, documents in the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill, unpublished papers in the National Archives and material long asleep in the British Public Record Office. He has produced a scholarly and original work.

The political and economic impact of cruiser warfare by the Confederacy, its effect on the future welfare of the United States merchant fleet, the blockade of Southern ports and the war weariness of the North, and its part in shaping American overseas diplomacy, have been rather neglected by the professional historians. The successful Confederate operations were large and important in all these fields and it is likely if they had done well on land they would have won the war.

First called the *Oreto,* an Italian name used to disguise her ownership and purpose, the *Florida* was built in Liverpool in 1861, a fast and workmanlike ship modeled after a British dispatch gunboat. She was 192 feet long, of 700 tons and a speed of 12 knots and was capable of an impressive broadside of 360 pounds from her howitzer and Blakely rifle batteries. A wooden screw steamer cost 45,628 pounds to build and $400,000 in all to build and operate, and before she came to the end of her adventures (she was captured in Bahia, Brazil by U.S.S. *Wachusett,* under dubious international circumstances, in October, 1864) she had taken 60 prizes and accounted for $4,051,000 worth of commerce. It cost the United States over $3 million to search for her and her depredations caused an astronomical rise in war risk insurance rates, highly painful to American business. Diplomatic incidents arose all over the world as she journeyed through the oceans, and she had much to do with causing American merchant tonnage to decline from 5,219,181 in 1860 to 1,674,516 in 1864. Several Baltimore ships, the bark *Mandamis,* the bark *Henrietta,* and the coffee brig *Clarence* were among her prizes, the last named being converted into a "satellite" raider along with the *Tacony.* The *Florida* had two major cruises and several coastal raids in her odyssey, including a long and exciting stay in Brest which is worth a separate volume.

Her two captains, John Newland Maffitt and Charles M. Morris, were true fighting men of the sea, skilled navigators and diplomats cast in the role of 19th century "buccaneers". The *Florida* was for

two years a veritable "scourge of the Oceans" and her saga was surely one of the great naval epics. The original builder's model of the *Florida* was given to the Maryland Historical Society in 1920 by a Mr. R. T. Taylor. Can anyone identify him?

G. H. POUDER

Maryland Historical Society

BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW

Report on Project History Retrieval: Tests and Demonstrations of An Optic-Coincidence System of Information Retrieval for Historical Materials. By ELIZABETH INGERMAN WOOD. Philadelphia: Drexel Institute of Technology, 1966. Drexel Library Series No. 14. xiii, 123. $3.

Early Nantucket and Its Whaling Houses. By HENRY CHANDLEE FORMAN. New York: Hastings House, 1966. ix, 291. $12.50.

Encyclopedia of the American Revolution. By MARK MAYO BOATNER, III. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966. xviii, 1287. $17.50.

The Rattling Chains: Slave Unrest and Revolt in the Antebellum South. By NICHOLAS HALASZ. New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1966. 274. $4.95.

For History's Sake: The Preservation and Publication of North Carolina History. By H. G. JONES. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966. xvi, 319. $7.50.

Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763. By M. EUGENE SIRMANS. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia. lx, 394. $10.

Yankee Rebel: The Civil War Journal of Edmund Dewitt Patterson. Edited by JOHN G. BARRETT. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966. xii, 207. $6.

Benjamin Lundy and the Struggle for Negro Freedom. By MERTON L. DILLON. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966. vi, 285. $6.75.

Anxiety and Affluence: 1945-1965. Edited by ERNEST R. MAY. Vol. 8 of The Johns Hopkins University series: *A Docu-*

mentary History of American Life. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966. xii, 404. $2.95 paper; $4.95 cloth.

Early American Herb Recipes. By ALICE COOKE BROWN. Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1966. 152. $10.

American Furniture: The Federal Period. By CHARLES F. MONTGOMERY. A Winterthur Book. New York: The Viking Press, 1966. 497. Illustrated. $25.

Early American Winters, 1604-1820. By DAVID M. LUDLAM. Boston: American Meteorological Society, 1966. *The History of American Weather* series. xii, 285. $10.

NOTES AND QUERIES

What's in a Name? An anonymous government clerk, assigned to analyze the census returns of 1790, managed to discover humor in the endless list of names. The clerk obtained a fraction of a page to publish his findings amidst statistics in the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Century of Population Growth* (Washington, 1909), p. 113. Since his findings are almost lost in the bureaucratic jungle, perhaps they should appear again.

Among the 3,929,625 souls enumerated by the census of 1790, the clerk found that the following names appear:

Sermon Coffin, Boston Frog, Jedidiah Brickhouse, Jerimiah Crysick, Bachelor Chance, Britain Spelling, History Gott, Anguish Lemmon, Thomas Gabtale, Unity Bachelor, Booze Still, Over Jordan, Constant Gallneck, Pleasant Basket, Balaam Bell, Cutlip Hoof, Comfort Clock, Jonah Hatchet, Noble Gun, Hardy Baptist, Sillah Jester, Jacob Worm, Hannah Cheese, Sharp Blount, Mercy Pepper, Joseph Scolds, John Sat, Thomas Simmers, John Smothers, Sarah Simpers, Ruth Shaves, Barbary Staggers, William Sorrows, Joseph Rodeback, Christ Forgot, Agreen Crabtree, Christian Bonnet, Trulove Sparks, Snow Frost, Preserved Taft, Wanton Bump, Darling Whiteman, Mourning Chestunt, River Jordan, Christian Shelf.

He found other surnames that suggest possibilities:

Boor, Booby, Crook, Dunce, Gump, Rascal, Swindle, Knave, Madsavage, Coward, Hero, Pettyfool, Drinker, Dancer, Kicker, Cusser, Spitter, Busy, Idle, Careless, Strict, Calm, Gushing, Dumb, Howling, Looney, Dowdy, Daft, Faithful, Fickle, Forward, Maudlin, Gaudy, Quaint, Harsh, Jolly, Literal, Final, Naughty, Toogood, Sullen, Sanguine, Lazy, Lucky, Toobald, Fatyouwant, Brains, Hips, Bowels, Murmurs, Grunts, Howls, Yells, Clampit, Coldflesh, Gallivant, Hogmire, Livergall, Stophell, Threewits, Trueluck, Wallflower, Witchwagon.

GEORGE H. COLLCOTT
University of Maryland

Maryland Audubon Society—A Maryland Audubon Society will be formed. It will be a branch of the National Audubon Society but will be an independent, statewide, non-profit organization dedicated to increase public appreciation of the value of our environment, and the need to conserve its soil, water, plants and wildlife because these all have a vital relation to the public welfare. For further information write:

MARYLAND AUDUBON SOCIETY
c/o William H. Rodeffer
Allender Road, Box 805
White Marsh, Maryland 21162

Gilbert—I would like to know the parents of Garvas (Garvis, Garvais, Jarvis or Gervase) Gilbert. He was established in Baltimore County, Maryland in the year 1699. Allied families of his children are Webster and Preston.

Lloyd—I would like to know the parents of Elizabeth Loyd (Lloyd), family of Maryland. She married, about 1723, Francis Browning of Caroline, Spotsylvania and Orange Counties, Virginia.

Mrs. R. Gilbert Browning
10513 Coloma Road
Rancho Cordova, Calif. 95670

Wingate—Data is desired on the earliest Wingates of Dorchester, St. Mary's and Charles counties, particularly ancestors of Elias and Henry Wingate of St. Mary's County, and John Harrison Dutton Wingate (b. 1810) of Charles County.

Robert Bray Wingate
Rare Books Librarian
Pennsylvania State Library
Box 1601, Harrisburg, Pa.

William Aiken Walker—A resident of Baltimore in 1870-71 (died 1921, aged 83) was a southern *genre* painter. I am preparing a bibliography of the artist and a checklist of his works and would appreciate receiving any valuable information about him and his paintings.

August P. Trovaioli
P. O. Box 135
Grand Bay, Alabama

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

NOT IN SEMMES I

J. C. Myers—*Sketches on a Tour . . .* 1849

In 1953 the Society published, as No. 2 in its series of Studies in Maryland History, *Baltimore as Seen By Visitors, 1783-1860,* by the late Raphael Semmes. It has become widely used as a guide to the publications of its period relating to Baltimore and one that conveniently epitomizes the impressions made by the city on visitors of long ago.

Like all works of a bibliographical nature, *Baltimore as Seen by Visitors* omits reference to some items that should have been included. It is the purpose of this series of notes to list some of these items, to describe them in a manner comparable to that employed by Dr. Semmes, and thus to supplement his useful work. An effort will be made to supply full bibliographical descriptions of the works referred to.

Readers are urged to submit notes concerning other works "not in Semmes" that contain first-hand descriptions of Baltimore as it was between 1783 (or earlier) and 1860.

SKETCHES / ON / A TOUR [Gothic] / THROUGH THE / NORTHERN AND EASTERN STATES, / THE CANADAS & NOVA SCOTIA, / BY J. C. MYERS / [rule] / HARRISONBURG: [Virginia] / J. H. WARTMANN AND BROTHERS, PRS. / [rule] / 1849.

Collation: 6 5/16" x 3 7/8"): 1-20^{12}

Signing: First and fifth leaves of each gathering signed, the latter with numeral and asterisk (25 unsigned).

Pagination: 240 leaves: pp. [i]-[iii], iv, [v], vi-xvii, [xviii], [19], 20-475, [476], 2 ll. blank.

Contents: P. [i] title p. [ii] blank, p. [iii] PREFACE, p. [v] CONTENTS, p. [xviii] blank, pp. [19]-475 text, consisting of 44 chapters. THE END. on p. 475, p. [476] ERRATA.

This, the first and only edition, is uncommon rather than rare, despite the failure of Sabin to list it. Most large libraries have copies. *References:* Howes, *U.S. Iana* M-932; 3 Clark, *Travels in the Old South* 368.

Myers, whose preface is dated from New Hope, Virginia, made his trip in May, June, and July 1848. He entered Maryland from Washington and journeyed to Baltimore via the Washington and Annapolis Railroad. He appears to have spent but a day or two in the city and to have made a rather conventional tour. He was duly impressed by the Washington Monument, Battle Monument, the court house, Merchants Exchange, Penitentiary, and Cathedral, among other usual sights.

Myers described the Wahington Medical College (now Church Home and Hospital) with particularity. He considered its architecture to be in a style "which will vie with the proudest collegiate of our land" and its building "perhaps the most splendid structure in the city." He was attracted by the provision of "apartments especially designed for strangers who may be taken sick in the city" in addition to beds for between 300 and 400 ordinary patients and accommodations for about 50 students.

Myers made the customary obeisance to the reputation of the citizenry for "hospitality and agreeable manners," but considered as an equal distinction their "bold and persevering enterprise" as exemplified in the C&O Canal and the B&O Railroad, "the two greatest works of internal improvement in the United States."

Baltimore Bernard de Bruyn

SOME VARIATIONS IN VARLE'S COMPLETE VIEW OF BALTIMORE (1833)

Charles Varle's *A Complete View of Baltimore . . .*, published in 1833, is of both intrinsic and bibliographical interest. It merits as a contemporary description of Baltimore, though genuine, are overshadowed by those of J. H. B. Latrobe's *A Picture of Baltimore,* published some seven months earlier[1]; but it remains notable as containing, among other things, what is probably the first account in book from of an actual journey on an American railroad.[2]

There are at least three kinds of variations in this work: in issues, binding, and states of the map.

It seems well established that the book appeared in two 1833 issues.[3] The presumptive first contains a leaf of "Preface," constituting pages [vii] and viii, followed by an unnumbered "Advertisement" leaf, verso blank, the recto of which contains 13 lines of errata, mostly in matters other than proper names. The preface consists almost entirely in disparaging comments on *A Picture of Baltimore.* This issue seemingly does not necessarily contain the added leaf commending Varle's earlier books for the instruction of children.[4]

[1] By Fielding Lucas, Jr., on September 12, 1832, as advertised in The *Baltimore Gazette and Daily Advertiser.*

[2] "Narrative of An Excursion on the Baltimore & Ohio Rail Road." 108-126. The library of the Association of American Railroads (DBRE) has yielded nothing earlier on book form. *A Picture of Baltimore,* however, contains a good description of the road which is undoubtedly based in part on the author's own travel.

[3] See Howes, *U. S. Iana,* V-49. Mr Howes also lists a third issue, or reprint, of 1838, but I have never seen a copy and respectfully doubt whether the issue ever existed.

[4] I have seen one copy of the first issue with it (DBRE) and three, apparently complete, without it.

Both the "Preface" and "Advertisement" leaves are omitted from the presumptive second issue. To take their place there is inserted between pages vi and [9] an unnumbered leaf, the recto containing a message from the author "To the Citizens of Baltimore" announcing that he is returning to his native France; and the verso 10 lines of errata, all relating to proper names and all but one different from those listed in the first issue errata. No errors are corrected in the text of either issue. The leaf or commendations (verso blank) usually appears in this issue at the end, following page 166, but sometimes (as in one copy in original binding and one rebound copy I have examined) immediately preceding page [9].

Five of the 12 copies of the book I have examined are in original bindings. They are of fine linen, tan, green, or plum in color. Some are gold-lettered "VIEW OF/BALTIMORE" on the spine, but in others the same lettering appears on a label of black or red leather. I have seen only one copy (DBRE) of the first issue in original binding, which is tan linen with the black leather label.

No notice seems to have been taken of the fact that the folding map inserted just before the title page exists in at least three states. It is not a very good map to begin with, for all states omit, for example, the street where the book was printed (Calvert) and the street where the publisher had his business (Saratoga). It is poor indeed when compared with the excellent map that accompanies the rival *Picture of Baltimore*. Nevertheless, Varle made some effort to improve his map as he went along.

Varle's book was published in early April of 1833, having been advertised as "just published" on April 8,[5] and having received an editorial notice on April 6.[6] The first state of the map, of which I have seen only two examples, both in copies of the first issue of the book, shows Light Street ending at Lee Street and contains no depiction whatever of Fort Avenue (though even A. P. Folie's map of 1792 shows a "road to the fort" in the same area). Fort McHenry, though named, is not delineated. But the very newspaper of April 6 which contains the earliest mention of the book I have found also contains a legal notice of a pending city ordinance to extend Light Street south from Hamburg Street. It would scarcely do to continue to issue a map showing Light Street ending even north of that intersection; and in consequence the second state of the map shows not only the southern extension of Light Street but also Fort Avenue (and Fort Street as its western extension). Fort McHenry is in this state marked off by a jagged line suggesting its star shape.

The third state differs from the second only in that Locust Point, theretofore unmarked, is designated "Toulon." I have not found

[5] *Baltimore American.*
[6] *Baltimore Gazette.*

any other mention of this place name in Baltimore, though I have not done any extensive research to that end.

It may be useful if I list here the copies of *A Complete View* I have seen, classified by issue, state, and binding (when original):

Issue	*State of Map*	*Binding*	*Location*
1	1	Tan linen, black leather label	DBRE
1	1		Howard
1	[lacking]		Md. Hist. Soc.
1	[lacking]		MdBP
2	2	Tan linen, no label	MdBE
2	2	Plum linen, red leather label	MdBP
2	2	Green linen, red leather label	Md. Hist. Soc.
2	2	Plum linen, no label	Howard
2	2		MdBE
2	[lacking]		MdBE
2	3		Md. Hist. Soc.
2	3		Howard

I hope that anyone who possesses a copy of this work will use this department of the *Magazine* to confirm, correct, or expand my observations and conclusions.

Edward G. Howard

Baltimore

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